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1826.

THE design of the following pages, is to promote an investigation of the grounds upon which most protestant commentators have been led to consider the prophetic period mentioned by Daniel and St. John, as consisting of 1260 years; and I wish at the outset to inform the reader, that I am not about to propose any new mode of interpreting the prophecies, or any speculations about their fulfilment. My enquiry is simply, whether a certain doctrine, which is very commonly entertained, is well founded. I am aware that this will lead to a prejudice in the minds of some, because I have found many persons speaking and writing, as if, in some cases at least, it were better to hold a mistaken opinion, than none at all. With such I know not how to argue, because it seems to me, that the removal of error, where it exists, must be the first step towards the establishment of truth; and I had rather on any subject know nothing, than believe what is wrong. Whether I am

opposing an error, it is not my province to decide, but fully believing that I am, I feel it a duty to promote investigation of the grounds on which it has been taken up. If I am wrong, and the doctrine which I oppose is well founded, such an enquiry will undoubtedly lead to its further confirmation, and it will not continue to rest on evidence which others, as well as myself, have found unsatisfactory.

After much consideration, I feel convinced that, "*the time, times, and dividing of time*;" Dan. vii. 25: "*Time, times and a half*;" Dan. xii. 7: "*Time, times, and half a time*;" Rev. xii. 14: "*Forty and two months*;" Rev. xi. 2—xiii. 5: "*The thousand two hundred and threescore days*;" Rev. xi. 3: denote a period of 1260 *natural days*.

I believe it to be a rule of sound criticism, that we should take the literal sense of every writer, unless sufficient reasons can be given for departing from it. Whether those generally assigned for the mystical interpretation of the passages just cited, are satisfactory, I proceed to enquire.

In order to put the reader in full possession of the subject, I shall subjoin them as they stand at the beginning of Mr. Faber's Dissertation on the 1260 years, because I believe that work is generally known and respected, and contains all the arguments which I recollect to

have seen produced in favour of the mystical interpretation by any writer. He says,

“ That *the 1260 days* are not mere *literal days*, but that they are *years*, is alike manifest
 “ from the usage both of Daniel and St. John
 “ themselves, from finding ourselves expressly
 “ warranted by scripture to interpret *a prophetic*
 “ *day* by *a year*, from the impossibility of all
 “ the circumstances ascribed to the period of
 “ *the 1260 days* taking place within the short
 “ compass of *1260 literal days*, and from the
 “ specification of the period *about* which *the*
 “ *1260 days* must have commenced.

“ I. We may venture to assume, that the
 “ same mode of computation, which is used by
 “ an author in one passage of his writings, will
 “ be used by him in all other passages; at least
 “ in those, which are marked by the common
 “ feature of treating, not of the fate of indi-
 “ viduals, but of the fortune of communities.
 “ Hence, if any of the numerical prophecies of
 “ Daniel and St. John be *already* accomplished,
 “ we shall thereby have a clue for ascertaining
 “ the proper method of computing the numbers
 “ mentioned in their other numerical prophecies.

“ Now we find that Daniel’s famous pro-
 “ phecy of *the 70 weeks*, whatever particular
 “ difficulties there may be in the explanation of
 “ it, has been proved, by the event of our
 “ Lord’s advent and death, to speak, not of

“ *weeks of days*, but of *weeks of years*: and we
 “ likewise find from the event, that *the apoca-
 “ lyptic ten days’ persecution of the church of
 “ Smyrna*, (Rev. ii. 10) means *the ten years’
 “ persecution carried on by Diocletian*.

“ It seems, therefore, only natural to con-
 “ clude, that *the three times, or years and a half,
 “ the 42 months, the 1260 days, the 2300 days,
 “ the 1290 days, the 1335 days, the three days and
 “ a half, and the five months*, of these two pro-
 “ phets are to be computed in the same manner
 “ *each day in each number being estimated as
 “ a year*.”

Certainly nothing can be more reasonable than to assume, that the same mode of computation which is used by an author in one passage of his writings, will be used by him in all other passages; but why is it added, “at least in those which are marked by the common feature of treating not of the fate of individuals, but of the fortune of communities?” Is it customary with writers when speaking of *individuals*, to adopt a mode of computation different from that which they use when speaking of *communities*? Can any writer be adduced, whose practice gives colour to this limitation? Who ever heard of such a thing, and what should lead us to think of making such a distinction in the present case? Without it, indeed, it would

have been impossible to bring forward the only passage in Daniel which appears to favour the argument, or to set aside another which seems to me directly to oppose it.

The former of these passages is that respecting "the 70 weeks," which I do not deny to have been proved by the event, to be "weeks of years." To be sure the proposition itself, taken strictly, would exclude this case; for the period in question, though it stands in the scripture in terms of *days*, *months*, and *years*, is not calculated by *weeks*. Waiving, however, this consideration, the argument obviously rests on the assumption, that the "seventy sevens" spoken of by Daniel, would plainly and unequivocally signify "sevens of *days*," if taken literally. Yet it seems to me that we cannot properly assume this; and I have considerable doubt whether any person, ignorant of the fulfilment of the prophecy, and conversant with the Hebrew Bible only, would take it for granted, that the prophet was speaking of weeks (or more properly "sevens") of *days*.

On this point I think that christian writers have made a concession to infidels, which the Jews themselves do not ask, and which truth does not require. The Jews, however blind they may be to the fulfilment of this prediction, have never been wholly unacquainted with the language of the prophet, and the mode of

computation and expression used by their own writers ; and when these points are considered, perhaps the reader will agree with me, that there is no such absolute necessity for a mystical interpretation of the "seventy weeks," as he may have supposed to exist.

(1) We are, ourselves, accustomed not only to speak of "weeks" (meaning exclusively weeks of *days*,) but also to calculate time, *by weeks*. Every reader is familiar with this, and is accustomed to speak of "three weeks," "six weeks," &c. He would think it strange if any one, in speaking or writing should, without some special reason, designate such periods by "twenty-one days," "forty-two days," &c. In short we *commonly* reduce days to weeks, weeks to months, and months to years. Such, however, I believe, was not the custom of the writers of the Scripture. The period of the Feast of Weeks, was, indeed, fixed by counting seven weeks from a given time ; but beside this, I know of *only one* place in the scriptures,^a where a period is described, as consisting of any number of weeks. This occurs Dan. x. 2, 3, where he states that he was sick during three weeks. In all other places, I think the reader will find

^a Unless Lev. xii. 5, which will be spoken of presently, be also considered as an exception.

periods of time expressed in terms of *days*, *months*, or *years*. And this even where the numbers of days are such, as we should most probably reduce into *weeks*. Though Daniel, in the passage just quoted, speaks of "three weeks," he expresses the same period in another place by "twenty-one days," עשרים ואחד יום Daniel, x. 13. In I. Kings, viii. 65, we read that Solomon held a feast "seven days and seven days, even fourteen (or literally 'four, ten') days," שבעת ימים ושבעת ימים ארבעה עשר יום. Here we may observe, that the word *day* is thrice repeated, and that the numbers *seven*, *ten*, and *four*, are used four times, in order to express what we should call "two weeks," or a "fortnight." Again, in Gen. i. 3, we find a period of ten weeks expressed by "seventy days." Taking these circumstances into consideration, I submit that we should not naturally expect a Hebrew writer to express a period of 490 days by seventy weeks, and should consider it as somewhat singular, if we found that he had done so.

(2) As the Jews were not in the habit of calculating by weeks, so it was not their custom to express the period of seven days by *any one word*. I believe it may be laid down as a *general rule*, that the inspired writers did not use שבע, שבעה or שבוע, or *any other word*, to signify

a *week*, but that they expressed the period by שבועת ימים, “seven days.”^b The passage already cited from the first book of Kings will shew

^b I say a *general* rule, because it may appear to some, that there are three exceptions to it; and though I do not feel that they have much weight, I set them down—(1) Lev. xii. 5. It is said that a woman, after the birth of a male child, shall be unclean “seven days,” שבועה ימים, and after the birth of a female, שבועים “sevens,” or as we translate, “two weeks.” Whether this is any thing more than such an elliptical form of expression, as is common in all languages, when (as in this case) the context renders any mistake impossible, I do not determine. I have not found it elsewhere in the scriptures. (2) Wishing to bring forward every thing which others might produce against my statement, I add the “seven” שבוע, translated “week.” Gen. xxix. 27, 28; though commentators are not agreed, whether it relates to the *days* of Leah’s wedding feast, or the *years* of Jacob’s servitude. I am not aware of any other particular exceptions, but there is (3) a general exception, when the feast of weeks is spoken of. This feast, which continued during *seven* days, fixed by counting *seven* times *seven* days, might naturally be called the feast of *sevens*; but I believe it is not mentioned by that name more than *eight* times in the scriptures. These are, I believe, all the passages which seem to form any exception to the rule, that whenever a period of *seven days* is meant in the scripture, the word “*days*” is *expressed*. In support of it, I might refer to nearly sixty passages which I have examined, but they may be so readily found, that it is needless. Cruden, in his English Concordance, (in the division “seven days,” under the word “day,”) has collected more references than most readers will have the patience to turn out in a Hebrew Bible, and quite enough to establish the rule.

how the word "day" is repeated; and, that from the book of Daniel, though it formed an exception to the last rule, falls under this, for, in speaking of his sickness, he expressly says, that it lasted during three "*sevens of days.*" Such (except in the few places noticed below) I believe to be the invariable practice of the sacred writers. The word *days*, accompanying "seven" will be recollected, if it has not been remarked, by the reader; and perhaps he will agree with me, that in a passage where the word "sevens" stands by itself, it is by no means to be assumed, that *sevens of days* are meant, when every writer of the Scriptures, who has occasion to mention that period, expresses it in a different manner. Might not a Jew, before the fulfilment of the prophecy, have fairly argued, that if Daniel had meant "*sevens of days,*" he would, in conformity with the custom of all the sacred writers, and in consistency with himself, have inserted the word "*days?*" That as he had not done so, it was at least probable, that he meant some other *sevens?*

(3) I not only believe that a Jew might fairly argue thus, but it seems to me likely that he would, because I find the Misnic writers using the very word which we translate "*week,*" in Daniel's prophecy, to signify *the space between*

one sabbatical year and another. As far as I have observed, this period is uniformly expressed in the Mishna by שבוע, *placed simply*—that is, as it stands in the book of Daniel, and without any addition to signify that years are meant. Thus, in one place,^c we read of taking a field for a “few years,” לשנים מועטות, where the reader will observe, that *years* are specified; but the next section speaks of taking it for “one seven,” שבוע אחת. We find, too, the “remaining years of the seven” repeatedly expressed by שאר שבוע.^d The tenth section of Baba Metzia, already cited, not only shews that the Jewish writers understood by שבוע, a period of seven years, but that they used it particularly to express the period between one sabbatical year and another. The point there decided is the difference between taking a field for “one seven,” לשבוע אחת, and for “seven years,” שבע שנים. In the former case the tenant, and in the latter the landlord, was to bear the loss of the sabbatical year; a rule as just and equitable, as it would be among us to decide, that he who hires a labourer for “a week” has a right to only six days’ labour, while he who bargains for “seven days” service, has a right to the full number.

I do not say that שבוע is never used by these writers to signify a week of days, because I

^c Baba Metzia, c. ix. § 9, 10. ^d Sheviith, c. iv. § 7, 8, 9.

know it is sometimes to be found in that sense ; but, as far as I know, they most commonly use שבת, or שבועת ימים. Their use of the word, however, is the most striking when they have occasion to speak of *sevens of days*, and *sevens of years*, in the same sentence. When this happens, they express the week of days by שבת, and the week of years by שבוע. Thus in Nedarim, c. viii. § 1, the duration of vows is discussed when made in terms of “to-day,” היום ; “this week,” שבת זו ; “this month,” חודש זה ; “this year,” שנה זו ; “this seven,” שבוע זה. The same series is repeated in the same section ; and, in Baba Metzia, c. ix. § 11, we read of a workman of a *week*, of a *month*, of a *year*, of a *seven* ; שכיר שבת, שכיר חודש, שכיר שנה, שכיר שבוע.

On these grounds, I think that a reader of Daniel, who had not heard the period, called “70 weeks,” or been in any way prepossessed on the subject, would not necessarily suppose that the prophet spoke of “sevens” of *days*, and might very probably understand him to speak of “sevens” of *years*. I have entered into this matter the more fully, because I have not seen either of these points stated, though they seem to be of some importance, not only to my own argument, but towards illustrating the prophecy of the 70 weeks.*

* Since I put together these remarks, I have found the

For my own purpose, perhaps, it would have been sufficient to point out the “sevens of days” (Dan. x. 2, 3), for our enquiry is simply, whether Daniel does in his prophecy of

following brief, but confirmatory, note, in Grotius. “*Septuaginta Hebdomades. Annorum. Ita enim mos erat loquendi, et manet apud Thalmudicos. Ideo ubi de dierum, hebdomade agitur solet adjici dierum nomen. Ezek. xlv. 21; infra x. 2 and 3, in Hebræo.*” The very excellent and learned author of the history of the Jews, in the Universal History, says, “The generality of the Jews do agree with us, that those prophetic weeks are weeks of years, or of a day for a year, according to the prophetic style” (vol. x. p. 477). He gives no authority, and I suspect he would have had some difficulty in finding one, among the Jews, for calling such a calculation as a day for a year, “according to the prophetic style;” and I think the reader will have found better reasons for their agreeing with us that the *sevens* are sevens of years. “*Nec diffitentur Judæi.... Sic ergo Aben Ezra, ex R. Saadia הַשָּׁבוּעִים הֵם שְׁנִים hæ hebdomadæ sunt annorum id est Sabbathici. Et probat 1. quia paulo post Daniel loquitur de Hebdomadibus Dierum quæ limitatio hic abest.*”—*Leydekker de Repub. Hebr. 11. 389.*

I will not dissemble, however, that, at one period, the Jews appear to have had a mystical interpretation of the “times” of Daniel, which they considered as centuries. Thus Justin Martyr, speaking of the reign of Antichrist, says to Trypho, *ὡμεις αγνοοντες ποσον χρονον διακατεχειν μελλει, αλλο ηγεισθε. τον γαρ καιρον εκατον ετη εξηγεισθε λεγεσθαι.* p. 250, Edit. Colon. 1686. How they came by this interpretation, or what they did with it, I know not, for I have never seen the matter explained, or even noticed; but it shews that *they* did not interpret a day by a year.

the seventy weeks, so clearly express *weeks of days*, as that when we find the word “days” expressed in other places, we should feel ourselves warranted to translate it “*years*.” It seems to me, that in order to bear the weight thus laid upon them, the 70 weeks should have been expressly called “*weeks of days*.” Then, if the fulfilment had been delayed 490 years, we should have learned that a *day* was put for a *year*, and should have had some colour for interpreting it so in other places. I refer the question, however, to the reader, only reminding him that unless we admit, not only the most *obvious*, but the *necessary*, sense, of “sevens,” placed simply, to be “weeks of *days*,” the whole argument falls to the ground; for the mode of computation, used in the passage cited, gives no colour for understanding 1260 *days* to mean 1260 *years*.

But I have said, that without the distinction respecting individuals and communities, those who maintain this doctrine would be obliged, in fairness, to bring forward another passage from the book of Daniel, which appears to me to oppose their argument; it is this—in chap. iv. 16, 23, 25, 29, we read of “*seven times*,” during which Nebuchadnezzar was to be excluded from his kingdom. Here it is admitted, that “time” means a *year*, and therefore, we might naturally expect that the three *times* and

a half, in chap. vii. should mean three years and a half.

Surely "we may venture to assume, that the same mode of computation which is used by an author in one passage of his writings, will be used by him in all other passages." Yet, (without the slightest hint of any change of style in the author) we are to suppose Daniel using the same word, in chap. iv. to signify "one year," and in chap. vii. to signify 360 years, and this *merely* because, in one case, he speaks of an *individual*, and in the other, of a *community*.

I have endeavoured to shew, that the whole force of the argument rests upon the limitation of a very reasonable proposition, which, without such a limitation, would be decidedly opposed to the mode of interpretation which is maintained. It remains, therefore, for the reader to decide, whether there is any ground for such a limitation. None whatever is assigned, and to me, the assumption of it does not appear to be warranted.

Thus much relates to the prophecy of Daniel; but, it is added, "We likewise find from the event, that the apocalyptic ten days' persecution of the church of Smyrna, means the ten years' persecution carried on by Diocletian."

Who would not imagine that the fulfilment of this prediction, in Diocletian's persecution, was an undisputed truth? I have no doubt

that Mr. Faber fully believes it to refer to that period ; but as long as it is a matter disputed by commentators, whether this passage has any reference whatever to Diocletian, and while, so far as I can find a decided majority of them seem either expressly to refer it to other events, or else to be in acknowledged uncertainty respecting its application, I do not see how it can give us much help in the question ; and surely it is too much to lay it at the foundation of an interpretation, so far from the literal meaning of plain words, as that which it is brought forward to support.

I have looked into every expositor within my reach, and the following is the result : Bishop Newton and Dr. Hales agree with Mr. Faber in supposing that Diocletian's persecution is intended.^f Dr. Adam Clarke¹ goes only

^f See Bp. Newton on the place, and Dr. Hale's Analysis, vol. II. p. 1296. As I have professed to give the full result of my enquiry on this point, I will add that there is another expositor who maintains the same opinion. The reader may give what weight he pleases to his authority, when he learns that he adapts this persecution to the church of Smyrna, by stating that Polycarp was one of the Dioclesian martyrs. I feel that I do Mr. Faber no injustice by withholding the name of such a writer.

¹ Inverting Mr. Faber's reasoning, Dr. A. Clarke says, "*As the days in this book are what are commonly called prophetic days, each answering to a year, the ten years*" [query, *days*] "*of tribulation may denote ten years of perse-*

so far as to state, that the ten days *may* mean ten years, and that such was the duration of Diocletian's persecution. No other commentator, that I have met with, appears at all to sanction any reference to Diocletian. Grotius² takes the words literally, and understands a period of ten natural days. L. Cappellus³ extends them to all the ten persecutions. Doddridge,⁴ Fleming, Scott,⁵ and Gauntlett,⁶ refer

cution; and this was precisely the duration of the persecution under Dioclesian, during which all the Asiatic churches were grievously afflicted. Others understand the expression as implying *frequency* and abundance, as it does in other parts of scripture.....Some think the shortness of the affliction is here intended," &c.—*Comm. in l.*

² *Decem dies*, intellige proprie; est enim consolatio ex brevitatem temporis.—*Comm. in l.*

³ Quomodo Ægyptii Israelitas decies invito quasi Deo detinuerunt et afflixerunt, unde etiam decem plagis a Deo affecti sunt, sic Christiani ab Impp. Rom. decem persecutiones gravissimas passi sunt, quorum ultima omnium gravissima annos totos decem sæviit."—*Spicileg: in Apocal. ii. 10.*

⁴ Doddridge says, "Mr. Fleming (of the Resurrection, p. 129), with many others, thinks this refers to the persecution under Domitian, which continued about *ten years*; and was begun when John was banished into Patmos and saw those Revelations. But it may only signify a short and limited time."—*Fam. Exp. in l.*

⁵ "This may either mean ten years, which is recorded to have been the duration of Domitian's persecution, or a considerable, but limited, time."—*Comm. in l.*

⁶ "This may either mean ten years, which is recorded

it to the times of *Domitian*. Junius⁷ and Brightman⁸ to the persecution by *Trajan*. Henry⁹

to have been the duration of Domitian's persecution, or a very considerable time, the term *ten* being frequently used indefinitely for *many*."—*Exp. of Rev.* p. 26.

Mr. Gauntlett appears to have followed Mr. Scott—Mr. Scott in all probability followed Dr. Doddridge—perhaps, (but I have not the means of ascertaining) Dr. Doddridge followed Mr. Fleming, without enquiring on what authority the persecution of Domitian is said to have lasted *ten years*. It may be recorded somewhere, but certainly it is not in any history which I have met with; and, indeed, it is so notorious, that Domitian's persecution did not begin until quite the latter part of his reign (probably not until the very last year of it), and that it was put a stop to on his death, that it would be a waste of time to cite authorities on the subject. It is of little consequence to the present enquiry, to what persecution the prophecy was intended to apply; but it is important to shew, how the facts of history have been accommodated, and how error is perpetuated by those, who cannot for a moment be suspected of intending to deceive. Since the above note was written, I see that Mr. Irving speaks of "the ten years' persecution under Domitian, which is threatened upon the church of Smyrna, under the name of 'ten days' tribulation.'"—Vol. I. p. 178.

⁷ I have his Commentary only in the form of marginal notes, in a folio English Bible, printed in 1708. I there read, "It is altogether necessary, that this should be referred unto that persecution which was don by the authority of the Emperor Trajan," &c.

⁸ "As touching Smyrna, therefore, this persecution fell out in the time of Trajan."—*The Revelation illustrated in l.*

⁹ "It was not to be perpetual, but for a set time, and a short time."—*Comm. in l.*

seems to understand an indefinite short time ; Brown,¹⁰ an indefinite long time ; and Guyse,¹¹ upon the whole, inclines to think, that the period intended is *indefinite*, without venturing to decide, whether long or short.

I cannot say how many commentators agree with Mr. Faber ; but as I before stated, I have honestly searched every one within my reach ; and I confidently refer it to the reader to decide, what weight is to be given to an interpretation so disputed. Let him, however, remember, that the question is not, whether one persecution, or another, is referred to ; neither is it whether these apocalyptic *days*, may or may not, be *years* ; but, whether the apostle does so *clearly* and *certainly* use the word *day*, for a *definite period of a year*, in *this* passage, as to form a *sufficient*, though a *single* warrant, for our assuming that he has done so in other places.

Mr. Faber's second argument is as follows :

II. " In this mode of reckoning, we are

¹⁰ " Ten days of tribulation may either denote ten years, or many days."—*Self-interp. Bible in l.*

¹¹ After mentioning various opinions, Dr. Guyse says, " I incline, therefore, to think upon the whole, that *ten* is not here to be taken *literally* for that exact number either of days or years, but for an indefinite number of them."—*Comm. in l.*

It may be added, as somewhat singular, that among all the various opinions collected in Poole's Synopsis, the persecution of Diocletian is not mentioned.

“ supported by the express warrant of Scrip-
 “ ture—“ your children,” says Jehovah to the
 “ rebellious house of Israel, “ shall wander in
 “ the wilderness forty years, and bear your
 “ whoredoms, until your carcases be wasted in
 “ the wilderness. After the number of the
 “ days in which ye searched the land, even
 “ forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear
 “ your iniquities, even forty years.” (Num. xiv.
 “ 33, 34.) In a similar manner God addresses
 “ the prophet Ezekiel: “ Lie thou also upon
 “ thy left side, and lay the iniquity of the
 “ house of Israel upon it, according to the num-
 “ ber of the days that thou shalt lie upon it,
 “ thou shalt bear their iniquity. For I have
 “ laid upon thee the days^s of their iniquity,
 “ according to the number of the days 390
 “ days: so shalt thou bear the iniquity of the
 “ house of Israel. And when thou hast accom-
 “ plished them, lie again on thy right side, and
 “ thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of
 “ Judah 40 days: I have appointed thee each
 “ day for a year.” (Ez. iv. 4, 5, 6.)”

I am quite at a loss to understand how these

^s For “ days” read “ years.” Not doubting that this is
 an error of the press, or the pen, I should alter it without
 notice, but from the fear that some reader might turn to
 Mr. Faber’s work, and suspect me of unfair dealing.

passages, where the expression in each case is
 “a day for a year”—where, in fact, it is de-
 clared and explained, that a certain number of
natural days were appointed to represent, or
 prefigure, the like number of *natural years*,—
 should be called, an “express warrant” for the
 mode of reckoning which translates the word
 יום *day* by the English word *year*. In Numbers,
 and in Ezekiel, the phrase is יום לשנה יום לשנה
 “a day for a year, a day for a year,” a mode of
 expression which leaves no doubt of the writ-
 er’s meaning, and which absolutely requires
 יום and שנה to be taken in their literal sense
 for *natural* days and years. It seems to me,
 that the phrase could only be considered, as
 affording an “express warrant” for the transla-
 tions which it is brought forward to support,
 if יום לשנה, a “day for a year,” had turned
 out to mean, when stripped of a mystical dis-
 guise, “one year for 360 years.” That is to
 say, if the *days* during which the Israelites
 searched the land had been *natural years*, and
 the *years* which they were to wander, prophetic
years as they are called, each consisting of 360
natural years;—or, that we learned from the
 Scripture, that in obedience to this divine com-
 mand, the prophet lay forty *years* on his side,
 and did so to prefigure a period of forty “*times*,”
 each consisting of 360 years, the analogy would
 be good, and the warrant express; but what

colour is here given to our interpreting יום or שנה, otherwise than literally?

Mr. Faber adds the following note :

“ I am perfectly aware that *a year* is sometimes used by the prophets in its *literal* sense, as in Isaiah, vii. 8, xxiii. 17 ; Jer. xxv. 11, 12, and even by Daniel himself, when predicting the punishment of the individual Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iv. 25) : but this does not affect the question, whether we are not warranted by Scripture sometimes to understand *years* by *days*. The question is not, whether *days* are *always* used by the prophets in the sense of *years*, but whether they are not avowedly used so *sometimes*.”

I do not know whether I fully understand this note, for I am not aware that any one has ever suggested that “ a year ” is used otherwise than literally, by any prophet, or other writer, except in the single passage of Daniel relating to the three times and a half ; and to suppose, that in the passages cited it is not to be taken in its literal sense, would (as I have already said) require us to translate it by 360 years. Natural days may typify or prefigure natural years : that which we express by יום *day*, may prefigure that which we express by שנה *year* : but that is very different from putting יום for שנה and seems to me to be no warrant for such a substitution.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no passage in the Scripture where “day,” or “month,” or “year,” put simply, and without explanation, is “avowedly” used to denote (i. e. to *express* as a *name*, not to *prefigure* as a *type*) any period of time, except that which the word literally signifies ; and I think the reader will agree with me, that until some such passages are adduced, we cannot confidently assert that we have the “express warrant of Scripture” for mystically interpreting the plain words of Daniel and St. John.^h

Mr. Faber’s third argument is as follows :

III. “ That the 1260 *days* must mean *years* “ is further evident from the nature of the circumstances ascribed to them. *The little horn* “ of Daniel’s fourth beast is to acquire and exercise an unlimited dominion of some kind “ or other within the precincts of the Roman “ Empire, to wear out the *saints* of the Most “ High, and to change times and laws ; *the* “ *apocalyptic ten-horned beast*, in his revived “ state, is to make war with *the saints* and over-

^h I am surprised that Amos, iv. 4, has not been quoted by any writer that I have seen, in support of the mystical interpretation of the 1260 days. While this is the case, there is no need to say any thing respecting it, and I only mention it, that I may not appear to suppress a passage, which, as far as I can see, is as much to the purpose as any one that is brought forward.

“ come them, and to obtain power over all
 “ kindreds and tongues and nations : *the apoca-*
 “ *lyptic two-horned beast*, the contemporary and
 “ coadjutor of *the ten-horned beast*, is to cause
 “ the earth and them that dwell therein to wor-
 “ ship *the first beast*, to set up an image for all
 “ men to worship, and to obtain such a degree
 “ of power as to be able to lay every person
 “ under an interdict who should refuse to com-
 “ ply with his terms of communion ; and the
 “ *apocalyptic harlot*, who rides *the ten-horned*
 “ *beast*, is to extend her influence over peoples
 “ and multitudes and nations and tongues, to
 “ commit fornication with the kings of the
 “ earth, to intoxicate the inhabitants of the
 “ earth with the wine of her fornication, and
 “ herself to become drunken with the blood of
 “ the saints and martyrs. Is it possible that
 “ all these things could be done in the short
 “ space of *three natural years and a half*? This
 “ will appear perhaps yet more evidently, if
 “ we attend to the subdivisions of this period.
 “ Towards the close of *the 1260 days*, *the beast*
 “ is to slay *the witnesses* ; and their dead bodies
 “ are to lie unburied in the forum of the great
 “ city, *three days and a half*, after which they
 “ are to come to life again. In the course of
 “ these *three days and a half*, they that dwell
 “ upon the earth are to rejoice over them, and
 “ make merry, and send gifts one to another—

“ surely the inhabitants of the earth could not
 “ do all this in the very short space of only
 “ *three natural days and a half*. So again, a
 “ short time before the destruction of *the beast*,
 “ and therefore when *the 1260 days* are drawing
 “ near to their termination, three unclean spi-
 “ rits go forth to gather together unto the battle
 “ of the great day of God Almighty, the kings
 “ of the earth, even of the whole Ecumenè, or
 “ *Roman world*. They are accordingly gathered
 “ together to *Armageddon*, where they are af-
 “ terwards completely routed. Now, if all
 “ this gathering together is to take place to-
 “ wards the *close of the 1260 days*; it is plain
 “ that we can allot to it no greater space than
 “ that of *a few days*. But, if *mere natural days*
 “ be intended, how can such a general gather-
 “ ing together as this be effected in the course
 “ of *a few days*. Since then we have the autho-
 “ rity of Scripture for sometimes understanding
 “ *a day* to mean *a year*; and since the reason
 “ of the thing requires us so to understand *each*
 “ *day of the 1260 days*, we are not only war-
 “ ranted, but compelled, to consider *the 1260*
 “ *days*, as *1260 years*.”

Before I say any thing of the circumstances
 here alluded to, and by which the prophecy
 has been, or is to be, fulfilled, I must state,
 that of all the predictions which it contains,

there is none more clear, perhaps I might even say, none, so clear, intelligible, and unequivocal, as the limitation of the time, during which the events predicted are to take place. The period is distinctly and repeatedly expressed in terms well known, and with respect to the literal meaning of which, we cannot have a moment's hesitation. It stands in Hebrew, and in Greek, under the different denominations of days, months, and years, and I beg the reader to consider, whether we have a right to depart from the literal sense of these words, unless we can produce some clear, unequivocal, precedent; some passages, in which these terms, or at least some, or one of them, has been clearly used to express a period different from that which is designated by it, in its literal sense. With this view I cannot but think, that we should be very confident of our interpretation of other parts of the prophecy, before we venture upon so bold a measure as to alter the plain words of Scripture. It is not, however, my intention here to enquire into the circumstances, by which the prophecy is to be fulfilled. I am content to take them as they stand in the foregoing abstract, which, for the sake of argument, I am willing to suppose perfectly correct; and I request the reader to consider, whether it is IMPOSSIBLE that they should take place in three years and a half.

Setting aside the plain declarations of Scripture as to the time to be employed, and the extraordinary *means* to be used, in the fulfilment of these predictions, surely what we have seen in the political convulsions of Europe, during the last thirty years, may enable us to believe it not *impossible* that a power should arise, and “acquire, and exercise, an unlimited dominion, of some kind or other, within the precincts of the Roman Empire,” and do all that we can *certainly understand* to be predicted of him, in the course of three years and a half. I confidently refer the case to the deliberate consideration of the reader.

I wish, however, to remark, more particularly, on the slaying of the witnesses, because that will probably appear to many, the strongest part of the argument. “Surely,” says Mr. Faber, “the inhabitants of the earth *could not do all this*, in the very short space of only three natural days and a half.” But, what is “ALL THIS” which it is supposed that the inhabitants of the earth cannot possibly do in three natural days and a half? When the witnesses have been slain, “they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them; and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another.” This is all that I find written respecting those “that dwell on the earth:” and let us take it in its utmost latitude, and suppose it to include all the inha-

bitants of the whole world. Would any unbiassed reader understand more by it, than that the inhabitants of the world should rejoice and make merry, as the spreading news should reach them? There is nothing, I think, in the common rules by which we understand what is written, to lead us even to surmise, that the writer of the Apocalypse meant us to understand that “they that dwell upon the earth” shall rejoice over the fall of the witnesses, *precisely* and *only* during the period in which they actually lie dead. Let us suppose a case, which may perhaps have sufficient analogy to explain my meaning. Let us imagine some English historian to have stated, that after a long war, “*all the subjects of Great Britain* rejoiced and made merry on the restoration of peace.” Would it be reasonable to argue, that the peace must have lasted until the British subjects in the East and West Indies were acquainted with the fact? If the peace lasted only a few days, it might be celebrated by the inhabitants of Calcutta long after the renewal of hostilities; yet this would not be considered as falsifying the statement of the historian, because no one would have supposed that his language implied any thing respecting the duration of the peace.

Should the reader turn to the 11th chapter of the Revelation, to look at the passage already mentioned, he will probably observe the

9th verse also; and therefore, although it is not mentioned in the argument, I will say a few words respecting it. It is there declared, that "they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies." The original (ἐκ τῶν λαῶν) leads us to understand only individuals belonging to these different kindreds and nations;ⁱ and, if we consider that the witnesses are slain by the beast, to whom power is given "over all kindreds and tongues and nations," (xiii. 7) we might naturally expect, that such spectators would be present.

As it regards the three unclean spirits,^k it does not appear necessary to say much. I think the reader will scarcely require (and, to speak frankly, I should hardly know how to set about) a serious refutation of an argument built upon the *length of time* which it *must* take "spirits of devils, working miracles," to execute a commission which we cannot pretend fully to understand.

Looking, then, at the argument in general, I can only say, that I see no *impossibility* involved in the supposition, that the prophecy

ⁱ Dr. Hales, who supposes that a slaying of the witnesses will hereafter take place in London, says, "from her boundless commerce 'spectators' cannot be wanting 'of peoples, and tribes, and languages, and nations,' from the four quarters of the globe."—*Analysis*, II. 1362.

^k Rev. xvi. 14.

may receive its accomplishment in three years and a half; and, that even if it *appeared* otherwise, I should be very unwilling to admit such a supposed impossibility, as a sufficient warrant for changing the usual import of common and well understood words.

I wish the reader seriously to consider, whether a departure from the plain meaning of words, on the ground that their literal fulfilment is *impossible*, is not highly dangerous. - What is the character of the prophecies hitherto fulfilled? Let us take Bishop Hurd's remarks on our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem. "Was it *likely* that Judæa, at that time a Roman province, should be thus desolated by its own masters? Was it to be *presumed*, that so small a province should dare to engage in a formal contest with Rome, the mistress of the world, as well as of Judæa? With Rome, then in the zenith of her power, and irresistible to all nations? Was it *conceivable*, if any future distraction of that mighty empire should tempt the Jews to oppose their feeble efforts to its high fortune, that a vengeance so signal, so complete, should be taken upon them? that nothing less than a total *extermination* should be proposed, and effected? The ruin of the temple at Jerusalem was to be so entire, that *one stone should not be left upon ano-*

ther. Allow for the exaggerated terms of a prophetic description; still, was it *imaginable* that the Romans should, in any proper sense of the words, execute this denunciation? Was it *their* way, as it was afterwards that of the Goths, to wage war with *stones*? Was it a principle with *them* to beat down the *pride* of buildings, as well as of *men*? Would even their policy or their pride, have suffered them to blot out an ancient, a renowned, an illustrious temple, the chief ornament of their province, the glory of the east, and the trophy of their own conquests?"¹

Yet we know that it was fulfilled—and, to advert to only one other prophecy. What is there in the whole writings of Daniel and St. John which equals in apparent impossibility the simple, brief, and unexplained prediction of Isaiah, "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a child." Surely if these words, instead of standing (as thanks be to God they do) among those fulfilled prophecies, which form a support of christian faith and hope, were as yet unaccomplished, and only to be found in the Apocalypse, we should hear it asserted as confidently, (and I submit to every unbiassed reader of the prophecies, more plausibly,) that

¹ Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies, p. 167.

some mystical interpretation *must* be adopted, and would be fully warranted, by the *impossibility* of the event predicted.

I cannot help feeling the truth of what Waterland says, though I wish he had expressed it in milder terms, "Most of the abuses with regard to the interpreting of Scripture, when traced up to their fountain head, will appear to have been owing to this, that some will fancy the plain and obvious sense unreasonable or absurd, when it really is not; and will there-upon obtrude their own surmises, conjectures, and prejudices, upon the word of God."^m

Mr. Faber's fourth argument is as follows :

IV. "The point seems to be finally decided
 " by the specification of the period, *about* which
 " *the 1260 days* must commence. Since Da-
 " niel's *ten-horned beast* is allowedly *the Roman*
 " *Empire*, his *putting forth ten horns* must, both
 " agreeably to the analogy of prophecy, and
 " to the explanation of the interpreting angel
 " (compare Dan. viii. 8, and see vii. 24), denote
 " *the rising up of ten kingdoms within the limits*
 " *of that empire*. These ten kingdoms arose,
 " as it is well known, in *the fourth and fifth cen-*
 " *turies*, when the Roman empire was falling
 " asunder in consequence of the attacks of the
 " northern nations. Now *the gradual rise of a*

^m Quoted in Bishop Van Mildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 404.

“ *little horn*, into whose hand *the saints* are de-
 “ livered, during the space of *the three times and*
 “ *a half*, or *the 1260 days*, is represented as
 “ synchronizing with *the rise of the ten kingdoms*.
 “ Daniel does not expressly teach us, *how soon*
 “ after the rise of *the ten kingdoms the 1260 days*
 “ commence: but it is most natural to suppose,
 “ that they commence *not very long* after; be-
 “ cause, since this is the period of *the horn’s*
 “ tyranny, of his speaking great words, of his
 “ changing times and laws, and of his exercis-
 “ ing some peculiar kind of authority over the
 “ whole empire of *the beast*, if we suppose a
 “ very long intermediate time to elapse, we
 “ shall be obliged to suppose either *the quies-*
 “ *cence of the horn* during that intermediate time,
 “ or *the total silence of a professedly chronological*
 “ *prophet* respecting his actions during that
 “ whole time. St. John, however, appears to
 “ supply the omission of Daniel. He tells us,
 “ that *the ten kings* are to receive their power in
 “ *one hour or apocalyptic season with the beast,*”

“ Mr. Faber appears to have changed his opinion after
 this was written. In his third volume, published several
 years after the first, he says, “ I was once erroneously led,
 by the ambiguity of our common English translation, to
 suppose the passage (Rev. xvii. 12) to mean, that the ten
 kings should receive power SYNCHRONICALLY WITH the
 Beast; whereas its plain import is, that the ten kings should
 receive power SYNCHRONICALLY indeed with *each other*,

“ their number *ten* being completed in the course
 “ of that *season* during which *the Roman empire*
 “ was apostatizing into its former beastiality ;
 “ and that they should give their power and
 “ strength unto *the beast*. Now *the Roman em-*
 “ *pire*, as we shall hereafter see, continued gra-
 “ dually to relapse into idolatry in the course of
 “ the *fifth* and *sixth centuries*, until at length it
 “ completely revived, in its *beastial* capacity,
 “ or a second time became a *perfect living beast*,
 “ by giving *the saints* into the hand of *the little*
 “ *horn*, and by formally re-establishing under a
 “ new name its ancient demonolatry. Hence
 “ the times of *the revived beast*, in his capacity
 “ of a *beast*, and the times of *the little horn*, are
 “ said to be the same. (Dan. vii. 25 ; Rev. xiii.
 “ 5.) Since then *the beast* completely revived
 “ at the commencement of *the 1260 days*, since

but IN CONJUNCTION WITH *the beast*.” Vol. III. p. 255.
 The reader will bear this in mind while he reads the rest of
 the argument, which seems to me to be answered by it.
 He should also be informed, that by the word “ hour” Mr.
 Faber understands either “ the twenty-fourth part of a day,
 or a *season of indeterminate length*.” See vol. II. p. 108.
 Thus when it is said of the witnesses (Rev. xi. 12), “ they
 ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld
 them. And the SAME HOUR was there a great earthquake.”
 The first of these events is supposed to have occurred in
 1555, and the second is the French Revolution. If the
 word “ hour” is so indefinite, I do not see how it is to prove
 synchronism.

“ the kings (their number *ten* being completed)
 “ were to receive their power in the same apo-
 “ calyptic *season* with his previous gradual re-
 “ vival as *a beast*, and since they were to devote
 “ that power to him for the purpose of uphold-
 “ ing his bestial principles ; it is plain, that *the*
 “ *beast* must have been reviving in *the same hour*,
 “ or *apocalyptic season*, with the ultimate divi-
 “ sion of *the Western empire* into ten kingdoms.
 “ But this apocalyptic *season* is that of *the fourth*
 “ *trumpet* ; in the course of which the number
 “ of the ten kingdoms was completed, and dur-
 “ ing which *the beast* was gradually reviving by
 “ relapsing more and more into idolatry, until
 “ at length he resumed all his functions of bes-
 “ tial vitality at the first blast of *the fifth trum-*
 “ *pet.*° Thus it appears, since *the 1260 days*
 “ commenced when *the beast* was perfectly re-
 “ vived, and since he was gradually reviving in
 “ *the same apocalyptic season* with the completion
 “ of the number of the ten kingdoms, that they
 “ cannot have commenced very long after the
 “ subversion of *the Western Roman empire*. This
 “ being the case, though we may not be able
 “ quite *positively* to fix the *precise* era of their
 “ commencement, we may be absolutely sure

° “ It will afterwards be shewn, that *the beast* perfectly
 revived in *the year 606, and 607* ; that is to say, at the era
 when *the fourth trumpet* ceased, and when *the fifth trumpet*
 commenced.”—*Note by Mr. Faber.*

“ that they *must* have commenced *many ages ago*.
 “ But, if they be no more than 1260 *natural*
 “ *days*, then they must likewise have *expired*
 “ many ages ago. And, if they have expired
 “ many ages ago, then the events, which are
 “ represented as synchronizing with their ter-
 “ mination, must long since have taken place.
 “ But those events have *not yet* taken place :
 “ therefore *the* 1260 *days* cannot yet have ex-
 “ pired. We know, however, that *the* 1260
 “ *days* must long since have commenced. It
 “ follows therefore, that they cannot be *natural*
 “ *days* : and if they be not *natural days*, then
 “ they must be *prophetic days*, or *real years*.

Although I have thought it right to give the argument at full length, it will be, I think, unnecessary to notice all the statements which it contains. It is obviously founded (like the preceding) on the assumption, that other prophecies are rightly explained.

But the reader will consider, that I am not contesting Mr. Faber's particular system, and it will be evident to him that his argument rests simply on his interpretation of the prophecies, and that it assumes a number of points which have been denied by other equally respectable writers. It is not in my power to decide between them, and it is not my purpose to attempt

it; what I aim at in these pages is to call the attention of pious and learned christians to the subject, and to excite enquiry into the Scriptures themselves, and into the principles and modes of interpretation which have been adopted by commentators, rather than to refute or maintain any system of my own.

With a view to this I would make one or two observations. In the first place, it is said that the rise of the little horn “is represented as synchronizing with the rise of the ten kingdoms.” This Mr. Faber repeatedly asserts in his third volume. Speaking of the early fathers, he says, “they would be *quite sure*, from the unequivocal language both of Daniel and St. John, that the Roman empire was destined to be split into ten kingdoms, and that SYNCHRONICALLY with this its division a small kingdom was to arise.”^p “The fathers (as we have just seen) rightly judged that the eleventh horn would SYNCHRONIZE with the ten primary horns.”^q “Either Daniel was a false prophet because he foretold a circumstance which never came to pass; or a small kingdom, minutely corresponding in character with the little horn, *did* actually spring up SYNCHRONICALLY with the ten Gothic horns.”^r I give these extracts

^p p. 240.

^q p. 241.

^r p. 242.

as they are printed in Mr. Faber's work, and the reader will observe that this synchronism is a point of great importance.

Now to any plain reader of Daniel, I think it would seem, that the rise of the little horn is not represented as synchronizing with the rise of the ten kingdoms, for the beast had the ten horns when he was first seen, and, for any thing that appears, might have had them for any period of time; but the prophet witnessed the actual rise of the little horn.

I believe no one disputes that the Roman empire was shewn to the prophet, not as it existed in his own day, or in any way that embraced the whole period of its duration, but as it would exist at some certain period in futurity. That period does not seem to me to be the period of division, but some period when the empire shall have been divided; or, in other words, some period *after* (and I cannot conceive whence we are to gather *how long after*) the beast has become ten-horned. I do not see, therefore, how those who maintain that "this monarchy still subsists in the toes or kingdoms into which it was broken,"^s can deny that the eleventh horn may yet arise. It seems to me, that *any* period, shewing the Roman empire in a state of division into ten kingdoms, might be

^s Scott's Comm. on Dan. ii. 10.

the period intended ; and, that even if it could be clearly and satisfactorily shewn, that the Roman empire has once been divided into ten kingdoms, yet we should not be thereby warranted in deciding, that the prophecy must have been *then* fulfilled, unless we could also prove that the empire *is not now*, and never can be *hereafter*, in that state of division.[†]

I shall freely confess, however, that the account generally given of the division of the Roman empire is, to my own mind, very unsatisfactory.

In the first place, this argument assumes, that by THE ROMAN EMPIRE we are to under-

[†] “ Though the number of kingdoms has varied from time to time, yet it has been remarked by Daubuz : ‘ As if the number ten had been fatal in the Roman dominions, it has been taken notice of on particular occasions ; as about 1240, by Eberhard, Bishop of Saltzburg, in the Diet at Ratisbon. At the time of the Reformation they were also ten.’* ‘ As the number of kingdoms,’ says Mr. Whiston, ‘ into which the Roman empire in Europe, agreeably to the ancient prophecies, was originally divided, A. D. 456, was exactly ten ; so is it also very nearly returned again to the same condition, and at present is divided into ten grand or principal kingdoms or states.† It is remarkable, that at the present period also‡ the number of regal governments within the limits of the Western Roman empire is exactly ten.”—*Cuninghame on the Apocalypse*, 2d edit. p. 161.

* Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 52.

† Ibid.

‡ Viz, the year 1817.

stand the Western Empire *only*. This would, perhaps, surprise an unprepared reader, who would probably (and, I think, not very unreasonably,) expect to find that the Roman empire, in the fourth and fifth centuries, included Constantinople. Bishop Newton, however, will tell him, that if he has a mind to have them, he “must look for the ten kings, or kingdoms, where only they can be found, amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire.”^u And he afterwards^v recites, and adopts, Sir Isaac Newton’s mode of excluding the Eastern part of the Roman empire, by a scheme which Mr. Faber asserts, “must be erroneous.”^w On the other hand, Mede includes the Eastern Empire.^x And the author of an elaborate article in the *British Review* (a man whose talents and piety might have born a comparison with those of any writer on the subject) stated it as an “obvious fact, that the attempts to find ten kingdoms, in the Western empire only, have produced nearly as many opposite opinions as there have been writers on the subject. All their difficulties have arisen from a principle which they in common assumed; and their endless disagreement demonstrates its incompatibility with the luminous tenor of divine prophecy.”^y Again, suppose we

^u Vol. I. p. 460.

^v Ib. p. 473.

^w Vol. II. p. 235.

^x Works, p. 661.

^y *British Review*, vol. XVIII. p. 405.

give up the Eastern empire, and look for the ten kingdoms "where only" (according to Bishop Newton) "they can be found;" what do we find? Mr. Faber, indeed, says, "*these* kingdoms arose, as it is well known;" but *what* kingdoms are they? Whom shall we take for our guide? Shall we accept the list given us by Bishop Newton? According to Mr. Faber, "he most unwarrantably sets aside the *real* list of these kingdoms, and substitutes a list of his own, into which he introduces the petty states of Rome, and the Greek province of Ravenna, evidently *for no other purpose* than to give a colour of probability to his *predetermined interpretation*." May we then assume that Mr. Faber's *real* list is undisputed? "It appears to me," says Mr. Frere, "that the only difference between Bishop Newton and Mr. Faber is, that Bishop Newton felt a stronger confidence that the three horns, which were plucked up before the papacy, were Ravenna, Lombardy, and Rome, than he did in the correctness of any of the proposed lists of the ten kingdoms; he therefore made his list of the ten horns *bend* to his interpretation of the three horns: Mr. Faber, on the other hand, it appears, felt the most confidence in the interpretation of the ten original horns, as being those that have been named in his list; he therefore *forcibly accommodates* the interpretation of the three horns; so as to agree

with his list of the ten kingdoms, and considering that the parts of the prophecy relating to the three horns are more particular and pointed than those relating to the ten horns, when spoken of altogether, (on which account we see, that though, Mr. Mede, Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton *differ in their lists of the ten kingdoms*, they agree as to the three that were plucked up) the course pursued by Bishop Newton appears to me *more justifiable*; and more likely to be attended with a successful result than that pursued by Mr. Faber. I wish, however, in no instance to digress from the subject immediately before me, much less to pass any censures upon an author whose labours I so much respect as I do those of Mr. Faber; and my only object in bringing forward high contending authorities, is to point out what may be considered as debatable ground, within the range of which any commentator is at liberty to attempt the establishment of a new hypothesis."²

The identity of these kingdoms is then still a disputed point. To say nothing of Grotius and Brightman, who differ from each other in every point except the exclusion of *all* the Gothic kingdoms, let the reader only look at the various lists which have been made by learned men, and I think he will have no doubt

² Combined View, 172.

that if the number mentioned by Daniel had been nine or eleven, the right number would have been found among those petty kingdoms, whose unsettled state renders it so easy to enumerate them variously. At all events, let him say, whether those ten kingdoms are so well known, and the synchronical rise of the little horn, and the other particulars mentioned *so certain*, as finally to decide that we must interpret very plain and common words, in a manner certainly very unusual, and, I believe, unprecedented.

It would obviously fill a volume were I to go through every point alluded to in this argument. I think it, however, unnecessary; because those who are sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Faber's works to understand the line of reasoning at all, will be aware how much its force depends upon his system. That system in particular it is not my object to disprove; and if I use the author's name more frequently than that of any other writer, it is, as I have already said, because he has written most upon the subject. While I am obliged to speak of various writers, and to refer to their works, it would deeply grieve me should one word of this pamphlet give offence to any christian, and especially to those who are engaged in that study, which appears to me the best and the noblest in which the human mind can be em-

ployed—the study of the word of God. I trust, however, that I have not written, and shall not write offensively, and I know that they who sincerely love truth will pardon some freedom in the search of it.

Having now taken some notice of the arguments, which I have seen produced, for departing from the literal sense in the passages referred to of Daniel and St. John, I submit them to the reader's deliberate judgment, and earnestly entreat his attention to another point which has greatly influenced my own mind.

WHATEVER difficulty there may be in understanding prophecy not yet fulfilled, I believe I only express the opinion of the christian world, in general, when I say, that we are warranted to hope that we may arrive at some tolerable understanding of those predictions which have long been accomplished.

Some of the soberest writers upon the subject go farther than this. Mr. Scott says, the prophecies of Scripture “constitute a grand system of *previous information* as to the designs of providence, extending from the earliest ages even to the consummation of all things; and accompanied by such distinct notations of order as may well be called the geography and chronology of prophecy; insomuch that *any one*, in

any age, who well understood the prophecies extant in his day, might have known what to expect at the specified times, and in the specified countries.^a Mr. Cooper argues, that as it is “obviously the duty and interest” of christians “to attend to such indications, so it must be presumed, that it is in their power to understand them.”^b But I do not ask so much as is here conceded; it is enough for my argument, that we may expect to understand *fulfilled* prophecy, and this, I believe, will be generally admitted. Bishop Horsley has said, “To attain the useful end of prophecy, which is to afford the highest proof of providence, it was necessary that prophecy should be delivered in such disguise as to be DARK while the event is remote, to CLEAR UP as it approaches, and to be rendered PERSPICUOUS by the accomplishment.”^c “Commentators in general allow,” (says Mr. Scott) “that this vial is not yet poured out: and this is a sufficient reason why a commentator should decline giving any conjecture in what manner so compendious, and so obscure a prediction will be fulfilled: *but when fulfilled it WILL CEASE TO BE OBSCURE.*” “Predictions which are yet future will in due course be so decidedly fulfilled, as to leave NO

^a Preface to Comm. on the Bible, p. xi.

^b Crisis, p. 3.

^c Sermon XV. vol. II. p. 31.

ROOM FOR SCEPTICISM ITSELF TO FLUCTUATE IN SUSPENSE.”^d “The predictions of this book” (says Mr. Gauntlett in his *Exposition of the Revelation*) “continue to receive their fulfilment during the lapse of ages ; and as they are accomplished in their order, they are *decidedly* EXPLAINED and ILLUSTRATED, but not before.”^e “It is the universal character of the prophecies, that they are involved more or less in mystery and obscurity *previously* to their accomplishment, *after which* they become so LUCID AND PLAIN, *that their fulfilment is universally admitted.*”^f The same statement is made in terms even stronger by Mr. Frere : “When a commentator has translated the symbolical and figurative language of a prophecy, into plain and simple language, he has done all that is peculiarly his province ; and there is no doubt (*if the interpretations be correct*) that when the events predicted *have actually occurred*, they will be so STRIKING, that NO ONE CAN easily fail in CORRECTLY applying them.”^g

It is needless to add more testimonies on this point, and it is equally unnecessary to inform those who have carefully read any one of the leading works on the subject, that so far

^d Zouch on Prophecy : cited Br. Crit. xvii. 76.

^e Preface, p. xxxiii.

^f p. 160.

^g Combined View, p. 110.

from being thus “LUCID AND PLAIN”—so far from the supposed fulfilment leaving “no room for scepticism itself to fluctuate in suspense”—the prophecies supposed to be fulfilled during the period of 1260 years, are the subjects of incessant disputes and controversy. Is it not notorious, that even what is considered *fulfilled* prophecy, (take for instance, great part of the Apocalypse) is thought so obscure, and a matter of so much controversy,^b as to deter christians in general from attempting to understand it? In fact, the difficulty cannot be concealed, when men of piety, learning, and industry, are openly engaged in overthrowing each others systems, and when such men cannot agree, and christians in general do not pretend to give an opinion, *how*, or *when*, or even, in some cases,

^b We hear alternately of the *clearness*, and the *obscurity*, of fulfilled prophecy; but it is not often that we find these contradictory ideas placed in close contact as they are by a writer in the British Critic, when reviewing Mr. Faber’s work on the prophecies relative to Judah and Israel. When we find *so much* EMBARRASSMENT, and such CONTRARIETY OF OPINION in the application of many prophecies confessedly fulfilled, what difficulties may we not expect to contend with in predictions whose event is in the womb of time. It is in the nature of unfulfilled prophecy to appear fraught with contradiction, which human sagacity will labour in vain to reconcile, till the time when the event predicted shall UNRAVEL ALL PERPLEXITIES, and establish the inspiration of the prophet.”—*Vol. xxxvi. p. 471.*

whether a prophecy has been accomplished, we seem naturally led to the conclusion that it still remains unfulfilled. Mr. Faber, indeed, says, "The real fact is, that with the exception of Grotius and Hammond, and one or two who have followed them, *there is NO DISCREPANCY among protestant expositors WITH REGARD TO THE GREAT OUTLINES of prophetic interpretation.*"ⁱ It will be for the reader, however, to judge whether the matters adduced are merely subordinate particulars. If they are, I freely admit, that they form no objection to the reception of systems in which they occur; and in which they are only such imperfections as necessarily attend all the works of man.

ⁱ I print this passage as it stands in Mr. Faber's third volume, page 295; but as he is there in controversy with a Roman Catholic, I am not certain how far he means the position to extend. He may, perhaps, mean it only to apply to the predictions respecting the papacy; but how he could intend it to be understood, even on that point, I do not perceive, when he had said, only twenty pages before, "I do *not* suppose the Pope to be Antichrist; a *real* protestant novelty, peculiar, I believe, to Bishop Horsley and myself." Bishop Newton, who may be supposed to have seen enough of the expositors of prophecy, to know whether they agreed or not, makes a very different statement. In his *Dissertation on Daniel's Vision of the Four Empires*, he says, "to recite all the various opinions of commentators, would be but heaping up a monument of the absurdities of former ages."—*Diss. xiv. vol. i. p. 433.*

Let us then enquire, what agreement exists among expositors as to the "general outline" of the Apocalypse. If it would be unfair to exact a precise conformity respecting the minute details of the Seals and Trumpets---if it would be too much to expect perfect agreement as to all the lesser circumstances even of that which has been fulfilled---yet, might we not expect agreement if we should ask, when, and how (not on what day, but in what century, and by what sort of facts,) was the prediction connected with any given Seal, fulfilled? Suppose, for instance, we should ask what was the period of the fourth seal, from three writers, whose piety, learning, and industry, have justly, and even necessarily, placed them high in the public estimation. Mr. Faber would refer us to some period *prior* to the year A. D. 325; Mr. Frere would answer that it began A. D. 536, and ended 556; and Mr. Cuninghame would tell us, that it began in the thirteenth, and ended in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Let the reader compare the different views which these expositors have given of the Seals and Trumpets, as they stand in the following table; and let him say, whether they agree even in the "general outline."

	FABER.	CUNINGHAME.	FRERE.
1 Seal	.....	The greater part of the first 3 centuries.	330———363.
2 ....	.....	Chiefly 4th and 5th centuries.	387———394.
3 ....	.....	A very long period, commencing in the 5th century.	408———476.
4	Refer to a period prior to A. D. 323.	13th to the latter part of 17th century.	536———556.
5 ....	.....	Explanatory of the preceding seals.	Begins and ends about 606.
6 ....	.....	Begins 10th Aug. 1792, & continues to the millenium.	1789 to 10th Aug. 1792.
7	{ Begins 323, Ends 1941.	Includes the trumpets.	26th Aug. 1792 to 1822-3.

This table is formed from two which are given in Mr. Frere's Combined View; one of which contains his own system, and the other, those of Mr. Faber and Mr. Cuninghame.

Looking at the discordant opinions which this table exhibits, I must say, that they do not appear to be trifling differences about subordinate matters of detail ; of this, however, let the reader judge.

Should we refer to the prophecy respecting the Witnesses, and enquire "Have they been slain, or is that event still future?" We are answered, that it is future, by "many writers of great judgment and eminence, among whom may be enumerated Archbishop Usher, Bishops Newton and Horsley, Archdeacon Woodhouse, Dr. Gill, Mr. Scott, and many others." I copy this from Mr. Gauntlett's exposition of Rev. xi. 7--12 ;^k from which also I may add that, "some writers suppose that the *slaying*, *rising*, and *ascending* of the witnesses, refer to the constant and alternate persecutions, and triumphs of the confessors of Christ, during the whole period of twelve hundred and sixty years."..... "Another class of interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy received its completion in the case of John Huss and Jerome of Prague." "Others refer its accomplishment to the popish persecution in England in bloody Mary's reign about the year 1553. Some to the mas-

^k If the reader wishes for more specific reference to the authors who have severally maintained these opinions, let him consult Bishop Newton on the passage.

sacre of the protestants in France in 1572, and others to the cruelty exercised on the Waldenses in Piedmont, under the Duke of Savoy, A. D. 1685."....."The next hypothesis is supported by many eminent writers, among which are Messrs. Faber, Cuninghame, Holmes, and Fuller, with Dr. Bryce Johnston, and others.--- These commentators confidently suppose that the prophecy of the death and resurrection of the witnesses received its accomplishment in the suppression of protestantism in Germany A. D. 1548. And its restoration about three years and a half afterward A. D. 1551." To these various and conflicting opinions, more might be added. Indeed Mr. Irving, the latest writer whose work I have seen, following Brightman,¹ and several other commentators,^m sets

¹ It is not worth while to enter into all the subdivisions, which exist even among those writers who are classed together; but it is curious to see how little agreement there is even among those of whom it may be said, that they do not differ as to the general outline. Of course Brightman did not apply this prophecy as Mr. Irving does, to the impieties of the French Revolution; on the contrary, opposing the opinion of the fathers, he says, "we that have seen the matter long since accomplished, may *determine for a CERTAINTY* that the Holy Ghost had another manner of meaning then this," and then proceeds to state his own opinion, that the two witnesses were the "*Holy Scriptures*" and "*the assemblies of the Saints*." If I understand him, (and I am

^m See Poole's Synopsis in l.

them all aside, and says, "in the very first face and shewing of the thing, if God hath two witnesses upon the earth, the Old and New Testament are they."

Surely it will not be contended, that the slaying of the witnesses is a small and subordinate matter. Every expositor has treated the prediction as one of great importance, and has brought forward the facts in which he supposed it to be fulfilled, as matters of much consequence to the church; neither can it be said, that the discrepancy of opinion is small.

But, if we can persuade ourselves, that the prophecy of the Witnesses is one of those subordinate matters, in which we are not to expect agreement among expositors; how can

by no means confident that I do) these two witnesses were not slain at the same time, but "sentence of death was passed against the Scriptures in the year 1546 April 8th," and they remained dead until 9th November 1549. and the Church "lay for dead from the 22. of April the year 1547, unto the calends of Octob. of the year 1550." It is somewhat singular that the periods here fixed for the *revival of the witnesses, both* fall within the time during which the preceding class of commentators consider the witnesses as *lying actually dead*. Surely the coincidence between the History and the Prophecy cannot be very striking, if both these opinions are in *any degree plausible*, which I cannot but suppose they are, when I find Mr. Faber stating, (vol. 11. p. 78) that he once agreed with the second part of Brightman's opinion.

we possibly bring ourselves to the same view of a fact, which must be allowed to be of awful and intense interest to the church of God? I mean, the delivery of that church into the hands of a blasphemous and persecuting power. If such an event as this has taken place, is it possible that the church of God can be at a loss to decide *when* and *how* it happened? Can there be a difference of opinion among pious, and learned, and laborious enquirers into the word of God, and the history of the church? Nay farther, if we ask, "is the church at this moment in the hands of the blasphemous little horn, or is it not?" Mr. Faber and many more assert that it is. Mr. Cuninghame, Mr. Frere, and others, are as fully convinced that it is not; and nine-tenths of the christian world stand silent, avowedly unable to give any opinion on the subject. They may, or may not, be in the hands of the little horn, and he may, or may not, be wearing them out, for any thing they know---they hope and believe that they are "the saints," but whether the Beast is making war with, and has overcome, them, they cannot tell---it is a deep, curious, and litigated question, and one on which, among so many conflicting opinions, they never pretended to form a judgment for themselves.

Let us revert to the statement with which we set out. Is it true, as Mr. Scott affirms,

that by means of "a grand system of previous information as to the designs of providence," "ANY ONE in ANY AGE, who well understood the prophecies extant in his day, might have known what to expect in the specified times, and in the specified countries?" And did the church expect its delivery into the hands of the little horn? No. When did the saints find out that they had been delivered over? Not for ages. Is this credible? But in fact when did it happen? When, how, and by whom was this great prediction fulfilled? On this point, too, there is a great difference of opinion. Surely it is not sufficient to say, that we know *about* what time the 1260 years must have begun. In the first place, allowing it all reasonable latitude, that phrase is not sufficient to comprehend the centuries by which expositors have differed; and in the second, let it ever be remembered, that we are not speaking of a merely chronological difference. We are not enquiring in what year certain historical facts took place, but in what year (that is by what *facts*) a prediction was fulfilled. If, then, the difference between expositors were only one year, yet if the places, persons, and historical circumstances generally, were changed by that difference of time, the variation would be total. Thus at least it appears to me. If, for instance, one writer should say, "the saints were given

into the hands of the little horn by the edict of Justinian in the year 533 ;” and another should reply, “ I agree with you that they were delivered by that edict ; but it was not issued until the year 606 :” the difference between them would be purely chronological, and it would be unfair to represent them as differing respecting the fulfilment of the prophecy. But if (as Mr. Faber might reply to Messrs. Frere and Cunningham) he should answer, “ The saints were not delivered into the hands of the little horn by the edict of Justinian in the year 533---they were as free after it as before it---Justinian and his edict had nothing whatever to do with the fulfilment of the prophecy---it was not fulfilled until he and his generation had passed away.” And in this case it might be rejoined, that the Emperor Phocas and the Pope of the year 606 could have nothing to do with the fulfilment of a prophecy which had been accomplished more than seventy years. It seems to me, that the point in dispute between these writers is not merely a chronological difference of a few years, but that they disagree entirely as to the application of the prophecy to history.

Nor are these two the only periods which have been fixed upon. This momentous event, according to Mede,ⁿ took place in A. D. 456 ;

ⁿ It may be objected, that the 1260 years of Mede have

according to Mr. Frere in A. D. 533, when the edict of Justinian was published; the anonymous author of a system, characterized by Dr. Hales as, “perhaps, the most ingenious of its class,”^o places it A. D. 583; Mr. Faber, as I have already stated, begins from the year 606; Dr. Hales^p reckons from A. D. 620; Bishop Newton from A. D. 727; and Lowman from A. D. 756.

long since elapsed; but in order to our forming a right judgment, it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration those hypotheses which have been refuted by time. The weight of any writer’s opinion as to the events which seemed most clearly to accomplish the prediction, and fix the time when the saints were delivered into the hands of the little horn, cannot be diminished by the failure of his hypothesis. It will not be doubted, that the history of all the periods fixed on by others was well known to Mede, and there was nothing to prevent him from chusing any one of them, except that he did not discern among them all, such a fulfilment as he thought that he discovered in the events of the year 456.

His authority, then, whatever it may be, *as to the accordance of historical facts in 456 with the language of prophecy*, remains undiminished by the lapse of the 1260 years, because though time may have shewn his opinion to be erroneous, yet it cannot be denied, that all the facts of history lay before him, and that he decided on those which occurred at that period, as best agreeing with the terms of the prophecy. It is obvious that these remarks apply equally to Whiston and other writers, whose systems have been refuted by time.

^o Analysis, vol. II. p. 1358.

^p Ib. p. 566.

I cannot help again expressing my astonishment at the supposed state of the Church of God. Is it credible, that she has to wander up and down through a period of nearly three centuries, enquiring when she was delivered into the hand of a cruel and blasphemous tyrant? Are the saints of the Most High so ignorant, not only of their destiny, but of their history, as that they know not when, how, or by whom, this tremendous prediction was executed? The delivery of the saints into the hand of their persecutor was surely a solemn act. "We may," says Mr. Faber, "naturally conclude, that they were given into his hand, both by some formal deed, and some specific person."^r

And might we not expect that this solemn act of her delivery, would be known in her assemblies---registered in her calendar---commemorated in her services---never, never lost sight of by her members? But instead of this, the saints who were thus delivered up knew nothing of the matter. One generation after another passed away, and the secret was not discovered. Centuries rolled on, and the saints knew not, that he to whom they looked as their father, and their head, was making war upon them, and wearing them out. For ages did the church of God quietly follow a hireling, with

^r Vol. I. p. 189.

the brand of perdition on their foreheads. Was there no servant of Christ who, "understood the prophecies extant in his days," sufficiently to warn his brethren?---did no eye fall upon the tremendous curse, "If any man worship the Beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out, without mixture, into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the Beast and his image, and WHOSOEVER RECEIVETH THE MARK OF HIS NAME?"

Mr. Faber says, "the testimony of those who lived before the reformation is peculiarly valuable and curious. Much of this has been collected by Bishop Newton in his excellent deduction of the line of the witnesses through the entire period of the dark ages."^s He appears to have followed the Bishop implicitly, and therefore, I wish, before I make any remarks on the testimony which has been collected, to express my full conviction, that Mr. Faber's only fault in this matter has been, that

^s Vol. III. p. 295.

he inconsiderately followed one whom he believed capable of such conduct as he has charged upon that writer.[†]

But taking this testimony as it stands in Mr. Faber's abstract, what does it amount to? "Gerbert, Archbishop of Rheims in the year 991," (that is, 385 years after the time when, on Mr. Faber's hypothesis, the saints were delivered into the hand of the little horn,) "spoke of the reigning Pope John XV. in the following remarkable terms: 'What do you conceive this man, sitting on a lofty throne, glittering in purple clothing and in gold; what, I say, do you conceive him to be? IF he is destitute of charity, and puffed up by knowledge alone, he is Antichrist, *sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself that he is God:*' in other words, he is *St. Paul's Man of Sin.*" Supposing these words to belong to Gerbert, it may be sufficient to observe, that if by Antichrist he meant John XV. *individually*, his speech is nothing to our purpose; if he meant to apply the title to him *as Pope*, or to *the Papacy*, the value of his testimony may be estimated from the fact, that he afterwards became Pope himself. If, however, they are his words, (and they may be, for he is said to have collected the acts[‡] of that Council

[†] See before, page 40.

[‡] That is the "*longe prolixiora acta*" as Cave calls them, which alone contain this speech.

which were not known to the world until the Centuriators of Magdeburgh published them from an accurate copy which they fortunately had by them,) ^v---if I say, the words are Gerbert's, he has put them in the mouth of Arnold, Bishop of Orleans; and even if they were spoken of the Pope, ^w I think they will by no

^v They say "cum autem hujus Synodi acta, in vetusto codice accurate conscripta, ad manum haberemus: visum est ea integra inserere; quia alias non extabant. Apparet autem, Gerbertum fuisse collectorem."—*Cent. x. p. 246.*

^w I cannot help feeling some doubt on this point, because it seems as if the Bishop was speaking of some one present in the Council. The Pope was not there; Arnold, the Bp. of Rheims, was. The Council was convened to investigate charges of high treason against him; and after giving more time to the question than it is worth, I feel a suspicion that he was the person intended. But I am quite satisfied, that the testimony should remain pointed at John XV. and prove all that it fairly can. That it proves the Bishop of Orleans to have *seriously believed* the Head of his Church, and his acknowledged Ecclesiastical Superior to be Antichrist, or the Man of Sin, I think the reader will scarcely admit, yet this is the very question, and the only one. I am willing, and thankful to acknowledge, that there were those, even in that dark age, who saw, and exposed, and resisted, the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome; and if I have robbed Gerbert of this testimony, I will do him the justice to bring forward a better specimen of his Protestantism, from a letter of his to Seguin, Archbishop of Sens. "Deus dicit: Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade et corripe eum, &c. Quomodo igitur vestri æmuli dicunt, quia in Arnulphi dejectione, Romani Episcopi judicium expectandum fuit?

means convince the reader, that he who uttered them seriously believed the Pope, *as such*, to be Antichrist, though he might, in the heat of declamation, apply that title to any ecclesiastic “*IF destitute of charity, and puffed up by knowledge ALONE.*”

Such as it was, however, it is not pretended that this testimony was listened to, or that any one else repeated it, during more than a century; and then, says Mr. Faber, “In like manner, Fluentius Bishop of Florence taught publicly that Antichrist was born and come into the world, for which he was severely reprimanded.”

Poterunt ne docere, Romani Episcopi judicium, Dei judicio, majus esse? Sed primus Romanorum Episcoporum, immo ipsorum Apostolorum princeps clamat, “Oportet obedire Deo magis quam hominibus.” Clamat et ipse orbis terrarum magister Paulus, “Si quis vobis annuntiaverit præter quod accepistis, etiamsi Angelus de cælo, anathema sit. Num quia Marcellinus Papa Jovi thura incendit, ideo cunctis Episcopis thurificandum fuit? Constanter dico, quod si ipse Romanus Episcopus in fratrem peccaverit, sæpiusque admonitus, Ecclesiam non audierit, hic, inquam, Romanus, Episcopus præcepto Dei est habendus sicut ethnicus et publicanus: quanto enim gradus altior, tanto ruina gravior.”

Horror-struck at this explosion of protestantism, Baronius, who quotes it, subjoins—“O! sententiam homine tantum sive magno aliquo hæretico, sive impudenti valde Schismatico dignam, qua sacra simul concilia abrogantur, canones jugulantur, traditiones suffocantur, et cuncta denique jura ecclesiastica pessumdantur! ut impossibile videatur a catholico homine somnari ista nedum adeo procaciter effutiri.”—*Ann. Eccles: A. D. 992.*

manded by the Pope, in the year 1105, and strictly forbidden to preach any such doctrine." But in fact, though Fluentius preached the birth of Antichrist, did he mean to apply this title to the Pope, or the Papacy? What is the evidence on which we are expected to believe, that this Bishop "publicly taught" that his ecclesiastical superior was Antichrist? I have not been able to find any. The Magdeburgh Centuriators, indeed, set it down, that as he talked of Antichrist, he must "no doubt" have meant the Pope.* They were not so happy as to possess any "*acta prolixiora*" of the council which examined him, and those which exist throw no light on his sentiments.^y They cite no writer to confirm their application of his words; nor do they pretend that there was any writer who so understood them; but they admit that there were writers who stated that he was led to say what he did by natural phenomena, such as the faithful of that age expected to precede the revelation of Antichrist.^z These

* "Audebat palam asseverare, Antichristum jam natum esse, idque, HAUD-DUBIE animadvertit, ex illa horribili metamorphosi regni Christi, spiritualis in mundanum."—*Cent. xii. cap. ix. Col. 566.*

^y Silentium autem de argumentis ipsius altum est.—*Ib.*

^z Scribunt aliqui, prodigia, quæ plurima tum fiebant, majorem ipsi materiam cogitandi de Antichristo præbuisse: ut quod mare retrocesserit et similia. VERUM SINE DUBIO

writers, however they conclude, were mistaken, and that “no doubt” he *must* have been led to form his opinion from the marks of Antichrist which were then visible in the Papacy. The reader will judge for himself; but I cannot believe without good evidence, (and I find none at all) that Paschal II. or any Pontiff of the twelfth century, would have been satisfied with “severely reprimanding” a Bishop who had “publicly taught” that *himself*, or *his office*, was Antichrist; though I can well understand that he might rebuke him for disturbing the peace of society, and forbid him to preach what he, most probably, considered not only false but mischievous.^a

gravioribus causis, certioribus notis et characteribus Antichristi, quæ publice in conspectu versabantur, motus est. —*Ib.*

^a “Lord Cobham and the two Bohemian Martyrs,” says Bishop Hurd, (*Introd. p. 241*) “were committed to the flames, for nothing so much, as for asserting the impious doctrine ‘that the Pope was Antichrist.’ This may be believed, and is, indeed, what might have been expected; but what a sweet-tempered Pontiff must he have been, who contented himself with reprimanding a Bishop for having “publicly taught” this “impious doctrine,” and then sent him back to his see, with a simple prohibition. Nor was Paschal II., according to Bishop Hurd, the only Pope whose christian meekness was thus tried and manifested. Leo X. he tells us, “in the last Lateran Council, gave it in charge to all preachers, that none of them should presume to call the Pope, Antichrist, or to treat this obnoxious

The only other witnesses, before the time of the Waldenses, are St. Bernard and Joachim of Calabria. The latter of these Mr. Faber states to have “asserted, that Antichrist was

subject in their discourses to the people.” (*Ibid*, p. 242.) This is a good round assertion; but it is not supported by the garbled citation at the foot of the page, which is as follows: “Mandantes omnibus, &c.—*tempus quoque præfixum futurorum malorum, vel ANTICHRISTI ADVENTUM—prædicare, vel asserere, nequaquam præsumant.* BIN. CONC. Lateran. v. *sub Leone X. Sess XI. p. 632.*” The absurdity of a statement which represents a Pope in council, as charging his clergy not to call him Antichrist, is apparent; and its falsehood would have been equally manifest if the Bishop had cited the whole passage. I subjoin it, printing in *italics* those words which are omitted by the Bishop. “Mandantes omnibus *qui hoc onus sustinent, quique in futurum sustinebunt ut Evangelicam veritatem, et sanctam scripturam juxta declarationem, interpretationem, et ampliacionem doctorum, quos Ecclesia vel usus diuturnus approbavit, legendosque hactenus recepit, et in posterum recipiet, prædicent & explanent: nec quidquam ejus proprio sensui contrarium, aut dissonum adjiciant, sed illis semper insistant, quæ ab ipsius sacræ scripturæ verbis, et præfatorum doctorum interpretationibus, ritè et sane intellectis, non discordant.* Tempus quoque præfixum futurorum malorum, vel antichristi adventum aut certum diem judicii prædicare, vel asserere nequaquam præsumant, cum veritas dicat, *Non esse vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta, quæ Pater posuit in sua potestate: ipsosque qui hactenus similia asserere ausi sunt, mentitos ac eorum causa, reliquorum etiam recte prædicantium auctoritati non modicum detractum fuisse constat.*” I do not know what edition the Bishop used; but in that of Paris, 1636, this passage stands vol. IX. p. 142.

“ already born in the city of Rome; that he
 “ would be advanced to the apostolic chair,
 “ and would be “ *exalted above all that is called*
 “ *God or worshipped* ;” the well known predict-
 “ ed characteristic of the Man of Sin.” Joachim
 is not, perhaps, a person whose testimony would
 be called for, if evidence were not very scarce.
 But how does it appear that he meant to stig-
 matize the POPE, or the *papacy*, with the name
 of Antichrist? I conceive that he, like Flu-
 entius, (and, as far as I know, every writer of
 his, or any preceding, age,) expected an indi-
 vidual Antichrist; and knowing that when he
 should be revealed, he would be impiously ex-
 alted above all that was called God, or wor-
 shipped, he not unnaturally supposed that he
 would fulfil these predictions, by usurping the
 Pontifical Chair. What, however, were his
 real sentiments I know not, for I have not the
 means of consulting authorities.

St. Bernard’s works, however, I do possess,
 and to them I shall refer the reader; but, let
 me first ask, whether it has not struck him as a
 thing altogether incredible, that any man should
 have remained in full communion with one
 whom he *really believed* to be ANTICHRIST? If
 such a man could be found, would his testi-
 mony weigh one feather, and should we not
 rather be ashamed to cite such a miscreant or
 madman? Surely we have talked about Anti-

christ, and the Man of Sin, until familiarity with the title has beguiled us of all right notion respecting the character, or we could never seriously argue at this rate. "These witnesses," says Mr. Faber, (that is, Gerbert or Arnold, Fluentius, Joachim and Bernard—all that can be cited until the twelfth century,) "were in the very bosom of the Romish church." Yes---if their testimony is relevant to the point which it is brought forward to establish, they lived and died in full communion with one whom THEY BELIEVED to be THE MAN OF SIN---in profest allegiance to one whom THEY CONSIDERED and OPENLY DENOUNCED as ANTI-CHRIST---manfully fighting under the banner of THE SON OF PERDITION, and obeying him with humble duty as their SPIRITUAL HEAD. It is incredible! Of Gerbert and Fluentius, indeed, we know comparatively little---of Joachim, perhaps nothing that should lead us to doubt that he might be guilty of any folly or madness;---but it is too much to ask us to believe this of St. Bernard. Ignorant on some points he might be---superstitious on many, he certainly was---but it is shameful to drag forth a man of his glowing piety, as one who *knowingly* worshipped the Beast, and grasped the right hand of Antichrist. It is shameful to pervert his words, in order to make it appear as if he had wittingly leagued with the powers of Hell,

and sold himself to the Son of Perdition. And, after all, on what evidence are we required to believe this? Mr. Faber says, "St. Bernard himself, however devoted to the Romish church *in other respects*," inveighed loudly "against the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the Popes; saying that they were ministers of Christ, and yet served Antichrist, that nothing remained but that the Man of Sin should be revealed, and that the Beast in the Apocalypse occupied St. Peter's chair."

I repeat, that I fully acquit Mr. Faber of intentional misrepresentation, and that I do not mean the expressions which I have used to apply to him: I cannot, however, bring myself to qualify them, as it regards Bishop Hurd, because he professes to have examined into the matter. At the end of a note which I shall quote presently, he says, "I mention these things so particularly to shew, *what his sentiments on this head really were*; which have been misrepresented by hasty writers, who transcribe from each other, without examining, themselves, the authorities, they quote." What,

^b This expression is used also by Bishops Hurd and Newton. He *only* "employed all the thunder of his rhetoric, in which faculty he excelled," in proclaiming that the Pope was Antichrist.

then, does the Bishop give us as the *real sentiments* of St. Bernard? He tells us that, devoted as he was to the church of Rome, “he employed all the thunder of his rhetoric (in which faculty he excelled) against its corruptions; exclaiming that the ministers of Christ were become the servants of Antichrist; and the Beast of the Apocalypse had seated himself in St. Peter’s chair.” And on this passage he adds the following note: “*MINISTRI CHRISTI SUNT ET SERVIUNT ANTICHRISTO. [Serm. sup. Cantic. xxxviii.]* It is true, by Antichrist he seems not to mean the Pope, but in general an evil principle, which then domineered in the church. Yet he refers us to the famous passage in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, ch. ii. And he tells us in his 56th epistle, that he had heard one Norbert, a man of exemplary piety say, that Antichrist would be revealed in that age. Hence it seems probable that some one person or power was in his eye. After all, he says, that Norbert’s reasons did not satisfy him. Yet, in another epistle, he asserts expressly---*Bestia illa de Apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis, PETRI CATHEDRAM OCCUPAT, tanquam leo paratus ad prædam. Ep. cxxv.*; which was, in other words, to call the Pope Antichrist. It is evident that St. Bernard

applied the prophecies in the Revelations to the successor of St. Peter.”^c

There is no doubt that the words first cited in this note, stand in one of St. Bernard’s Homilies, but as the Bishop admits that they do not seem to mean that the Pope was Antichrist, it is unnecessary to say any thing on the subject. Here, as elsewhere, St. Bernard’s voice is raised with holy and fervent indignation against the corruption of the age, but it is false to insinuate that he called those of whom he spoke, “ministers of Antichrist,” because they were ministers of the Papacy, and it would never have been thought of by any unprejudiced writer.^d As fairly might we charge a priest of the Church of England with high treason, if, in a torrent of invective, he should tell his pa-

^c Introduction. Serm. vii. p. 234.

^d Let the reader judge. “Væ generationi huic a fermento Phariseorum, quod est hypocrisis ! si tamen hypocrisis dici debet, quæ jam latere præ abundantia non valet, et præ impudentia non quærit. Serpit hodie putida tabes per omne corpus Ecclesiæ et quo latius, eo desperatius ; eoque periculosius, quo interius. Nam si insurgeret apertus inimicus hæreticus absconderet se forsitan ab eo. Nunc vero quem ejiciet aut a quo abscondet se ? Omnes amici, et omnes inimici : omnes necessarii, et omnes adversarii : omnes domestici, et nulli pacifici : omnes proximi et omnes quæ sua sunt quærent. Ministri Christi sunt, et serviunt Antichristo”

rishioners, that they were subjects of the prince of darkness. "Yet," says the Bishop, "he refers us to II. Thes. ii." No doubt he does; but not as the Bishop would insinuate, in any way that should connect the Pope or the Papacy with that prediction. He says, indeed, after inveighing against the vices and luxuries, and the corruptions of his age, that nothing remained but that Antichrist should be revealed to seduce those who were yet abiding in Christ, and standing fast in the simplicity of the gospel, if any such were still left: a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, that he did not believe that Antichrist had been already revealed in the Papacy. This, indeed, appears from the next point stated by the Bishop. St. Bernard, he says, "tells us in his 56 epistle, that he had heard one Norbert, a man of exemplary piety, say, 'that Antichrist would be revealed in that age!' Hence it seems probable that some one person or power was in his eye." Undoubtedly one person was in his eye---in conformity with the general opinion of his own and preceding ages, he expected an individual Antichrist, who should raise "a general persecution of the church," and this is manifest from this very epistle; but the Bishop did not quote what relates to this point, feeling, I presume, that it would be rather too much to ask his

readers to believe, that St. Bernard actually expected the Pope, or the Papacy, to raise
 “*a general persecution of the church.*”^e

But the most disgraceful citation is that which follows: “*YET,*” says the Bishop, (again insidiously connecting things which have no connection whatever) in another epistle he asserts expressly---“*Bestia illa de Apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis PETRI CATHEDRAM OCCUPAT, tanquam leo paratus ad prædam, Ep. cxxv: which was in other words to call the Pope, Antichrist.*” These are indeed the words of Bernard; but it seems impossible to suppose, that Bishop Hurd was ignorant that by the “*apocalyptic beast,*” St. Bernard meant, not the POPE, but, the ANTIPOPE; and by the “*saints*” with whom he made war, the Pope and his adherents. In fact, that the “*LEO paratus ad prædam*” was Peter Leo who, having usurped the pontifical chair, under the title of Anacletus II, had driven Innocent II. from

^e “*Verum de Antichristo cum inquirerem quid sentiret, durante adhuc ea, quæ nunc est, generatione revelandum illum esse se certissime scire protestatus est. At cum eandem certitudinem unde haberet, sciscitanti mihi exponere vellet; audito quod respondit, non me illud pro certo credere debere putavi. Ad summam tamen hoc asseruit, non visurum se mortem, nisi prius videat generalem in Ecclesia persecutionem.*” *Ep. lvi.*

Rome. Against this usurper, Bernard's language is as unmeasured, as his devotion to the Pope. He calls him the Man of Sin, the Apocalyptic Beast, and the abomination of desolation; but how does he speak of the Pope, *in the very letter* quoted by Bishop Hurd? It is addressed to Geoffrey of Loroux; its object is simply to stir him up to assist the exiled Pontiff, and he recites with exultation a list of the sovereigns who, with their clergy, and subjects, adhered to Pope Innocent "AS CHILDREN TO THEIR FATHER, AS MEMBERS TO THE HEAD." In short, in the language of Bernard, (and I wish I could suppose the Bishop not to have known it) the POPE is the LORD'S ANOINTED---the POPE is THE CHRIST, and the ANTI POPE is ANTICHRIST.^f Bishop Hurd might,

^f Tempus faciendi nunc, quia dissipaverunt legem. Bestia illa de Apocalypsi cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam leo paratus ad prædam. Altera quoque bestia" (Gerardus Engolismensis) "juxta vos subsibilat, sicut catulus habitans in abditis. Illa ferocior, ista callidior, pariter convenerunt in unum ADVERSUS DOMINUM, ET ADVERSUS CHRISTUM EJUS. Demus operam cito dirumpere vincula eorum, et projicere a nobis jugum ipsorum. Nos in nostris partibus, una cum aliis Dei servis divino igne accensis, Deo cooperante laboravimus in conveniendo populos in unum, et reges ad dirumpendum pravorum consensum, ad destruendam omnem altitudinem extollentem se adversus scientiam Dei. Nec infructuose. Alemanniæ, Franciæ,

perhaps think that he was doing God service ; but surely every honest man will look with scorn, and indignation, on such falsehood.

Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hispaniarum, et Jerosolymorum Reges, cum universo Clero et Populis, favent et adhærent Domino Innocentio TANQUAM FILII PATRI, TANQUAM CAPITI MEMBRA, solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis." Could Bishop Hurd have read this letter ? or that which precedes it, and begins " Ut verbis vos prophetice alloquar, ' Consolatio abscondita est in oculis quia mors dividit inter fratres.' Quidam enim juxta Isaïam videntur foedus percussisse cum morte, et cum inferno fecisse pactum. Ecce namque CHRISTUS DOMINI ISTE INNOCENTIUS positus est in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum. Nam QUI DEI SUNT LIBENTER JUNGUNTUR EI : QUI AUTEM EX ADVERSO STAT AUT ANTICHRISTI EST, AUT ANTICHRISTUS. Cernitur abominatio stare in loco sancto, quem ut obtineret incendit ignis sanctuarium Dei. Persequitur Innocentium, et cum eo omnem innocentiam. Fugit ille nimirum a facie LEONIS &c."—Ep. cxxiv. Again, when Innocent had fled to Pisa, Bernard thus wrote to the inhabitants ; " Assumitur Pisa in locum Romæ et de cunctis urbibus terræ ad Apostolicæ Sedis culmen eligitur. Nec fortuitu sive humano contigit istud consilio : sed cœlesti providentia, et Dei benigno favore fit, qui diligentes se diligit, qui dixit CHRISTO SUO INNOCENTIO, " Pisam inhabita, et ego benedicens benedicam ei."—Ep. cxxx. In his letter to the Bishops of Aquitaine against Gerard of Angouleme, (the person alluded to in the former letter as a second and more crafty beast,) he says of Anacletus, " Quis vero ille, nisi HOMO PECCATI, qui super electum a catholicis catholicum, et canonicè, locum sanctum invasit, quem tamen, non quia sanctus, sed quia summus est, affectavit ?"—Ep. cxxvi. Bernard's idea of what the Bishop of Rome was,

I think it must strike those who read Bishop Newton's "deduction of the Line of Witnesses through the entire period of the Dark Ages,"

as to his office, and ought to be, as to his character, may be gathered from the following address to his own son in the faith Pope Eugenius III. : " Consideres ante omnia Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, cui Deo auctore præes, ecclesiarum matrem esse, non Dominam : te vero non Dominum Episcoporum, sed unum ex ipsis ; porro fratrem diligentem Deum, et participem timentium eum. De cetero oportere te esse considera formam justitiæ, sanctimonix speculum, pietatis exemplar, assertorem veritatis, fidei defensorem, doctorem gentium, Christianorum ducem, amicum sponsi, sponsæ paranympum, cleri ordinatorem, pastorem plebium, magistrum insipientium, refugium oppressorum, pauperum advocatum, miserorum spem, tutorem pupillorum, judicem viduarum, oculum cæcorum, linguam mutorum, baculum senum, ultorem scelerum, malorum metum, bonorum gloriam, virgam potentium, *malleum tyrannorum, regum patrem, legum moderatorem, canonum dispensatorem, sal terræ, orbis lumen sacerdotem Altissimi, VICARIUM CHRISTI, CHRISTUM DOMINI : POSTREMO DEUM PHARAONIS.*" *De Consid.* l. iv. c. vii. The reader will hardly be persuaded that Bernard addressed this to one whom he even suspected of being the Man of Sin ; but (long as this note is) let me do justice to his protestant spirit, by extracting the following address to the same Pontiff : " Hic, hic, non parco tibi, ut parcat Deus. Pastorem te populo huic certe aut nega, aut exhibe. Non negabis : ne cujus sedem tenes, te neget hæredem. Petrus hic est qui nescitur processisse aliquando vel gemmis ornatus, vel sericis ; non tectus auro, non vectus equo albo, nec stipatus milite, nec circumstrepentibus sæptus ministris. Absque his tamen credidit satis posse impleri salutare mandatum, ' Si amas me, pasce oves meas.' In his successisti,

as a very remarkable, if not incredible, thing, that the APOCALYPTIC WITNESSES should have prophesied for ages with the MARK OF THE BEAST on their foreheads. Yet I know not what else to understand. Did the witness Gerbert pass through his Pontificate without the mark of the Beast? Did the Bishop of Orleans, the Archbishop of Florence, and the Abbots of Flora and Clairvaux, escape the stigma? If Bernard had not the mark of the Beast, that mark is not, I think, to be found in prostrate devotion to the Papacy; yet if protestation against the corruption of the church, and comparative purity of doctrine, did not constitute him a witness, I know not what man before his time could claim that character. It is indeed serving two masters in a way of which I can form no idea, and seems to me to be joining together, what God has put asunder, as far as the East from the West. I think the devotion

non Petro sed Constantino. Consulo toleranda pro tempore, non affectanda pro debito. Ad ea te potuis incito quorum te scio debitorem. Etsi purpuratus, etsi deauratus incedens non est tamen quod horreas operam curamve pastorem, pastoris hæres : non est quod erubescas Evangelium. Quanquam si volens evangelizes, inter Apostolos quidem etiam gloria est tibi. Evangelizare, pascere est. Fac opus Evangelistæ, et pastoris opus implesti. Dracones, inquis, me mones pascere, et scorpiones, non oves. Propter hoc, inquam, magis aggredere eos ; sed VERBO, NON FERRO.”—*De Consid. lib. iv. c. iii.*

which our Lord and Master requires, will not permit us to talk of a man's being an accredited witness for Christ, on some points, "though in other respects devoted" to Antichrist. I leave it to others to explain how a man can at once bear on his forehead the mark of the Beast and the Seal of the living God.^g

Such, however, are the witnesses adduced ; and I think the reader will agree with Mede, who states, that until the twelfth century, no one *suspected* that the Pope was Antichrist, and fixes the year 1120 as the beginning of the separation of the pious from the church of Rome.^h

^g See Scott's Commentary on Rev. xiv. 1—5, where he identifies the hundred and forty and four thousand who were sealed, with the witnesses : and adds from Mr. Faber, "by these hundred and forty-four thousand I understand peculiarly *the depressed church in the wilderness*, previous to the time of *the Reformation* : for history sufficiently demonstrates, that there have been in every age some faithful worshippers, who consented not to *the general apostacy*, but who prophesied, although in sackcloth, against its abominations."

^h "Nondum enim Romanum Pontificem esse magnum illum et *κρυπτός* dictum Antichristum vel Florentinus Antistes, *vel alii suspicati sunt* : sed alium triennalem et semestrem expectabant." And he adds, after speaking of a work said to be written in the year 1120, "Atque hoc fuit secessionis piorum a Romana Ecclesia initium ; neque ante hoc tempus quicquam ex omni christianorum memoria auditum fuisse crediderim de Papatu magno illo et *κρυπτός* dicto Antichristo, neque alium expectandum esse."—*Rev. Ant.*

He is therefore obliged to suppose, that “the saints” had followed Antichrist nearly seven hundred years without finding it out. During that period I think it must be admitted, that they did not know, that they had been delivered into the hand of the little horn, and that the Pope did not assume that character by making war upon them.

Let me not be misunderstood to be the advocate of the Papacy. God forbid that I should deny, or extenuate, its heresies or its crimes; least of all would I do it, while the mushroom wisdom of “a liberal and enlightened age” is endeavouring to confound all distinctions in religion—when the brayings of operative declaimers echo back the bleatings of higher assemblies, to assure us that Protestants are Papists in all but the name, and that the fathers of our church

Works, p. 721, 722. “Mr. Mede supposes, and seems indeed to have proved, that the true doctrine of Antichrist was, and was intended to be, a mystery, or secret, till the twelfth century. Whence it follows, that the testimonies hitherto alledged are only passionate or declamatory exaggerations, or to be esteemed, as he says, *pro parabolice et κατ’ ἀνέτησιν dictis, declamatorum more*.—*Works*, p. 722. I admit the truth of the observation.”—Will the reader believe that these are the words of Bishop Hurd? If he doubts, let him refer to a note, on the very page opposite to that which I have quoted, and understand, if he can, the attempt which is there made to reconcile statements so contradictory.

died at the stake to maintain a distinction without a difference. These are days when all protestants, and especially a protestant clergy, are called upon to watch against, and resist, the attacks of their enemies, and the more mischievous ignorance of their friends. I know that they cannot do this without the hazard of misconstruction—so liberal indeed has this age become, to all but old-fashioned principles, that if they express their opinion, the clergy may be charged with interested views; and, even in quarters where it might be expected that high association would at least restrain individual grossness, if it could not give candour, courtesy, or wisdom, they may be told that it is done “in a way of trade.” It is nevertheless to be done by all fair, honest and christian means; and, at such a time, as a priest of the Church of England, I should be sorry to be thought, for one moment, the advocate of a corrupt church, from which, through God’s mercy, we are separated, not merely by name, or political constitution, but by a pure and scriptural faith. Yet, sure I am, that the protestant cause requires not error or even false colouring for its support; and I would not willingly suppose any reader so dishonest, as to wish for the suppression of truth. Surely, even if we should not consider the Papacy either as Antichrist or the little horn, we leave it more curses than its

bitterest enemy could desire to see fulfilled. Surely it has blood enough to answer for, if we look only to its transactions *since* the twelfth century. And in fact, what did the Bishops of Rome do for ages after the period when the saints were delivered into their hands, that could be called MAKING WAR upon them, OVERCOMING, and WEARING THEM OUT? "The quiescence of the little horn," after the delivery of the saints into his hand, is treated as a thing not naturally to be supposed, yet so far as I can learn from history, there had been Bishops of Rome for more than a thousand years, before any one of them took upon him to make war upon the saints.¹ During all this time (if they opposed the progress of his pretensions to supremacy) the saints never doubted that he was a christian bishop—never withdrew from christian communion with him—never once suspected, that they were sealing their own damnation, by receiving his mark on their foreheads.

It appears to me, that the line of argument pursued by Bishop Hurd, in order to prove that Pagan Rome was not Antichrist, is of equal, or even greater force to shew, that the Bishop of Rome is not Antichrist, or the little horn: "now this circumstance," says the Bishop, "ye will

¹ "The Man of Sin," says Bishop Hurd, "had a *convenient time* to display himself, and to grow up," &c. *p.* 230.

surely think, not a little remarkable, that they, who lived under the Emperors, and felt the whole weight of their tyrannous persecution, should not apply the prophetic notes and characters of Antichrist, to *them*, if indeed the prophecies had been fairly capable of such application. This, I say, is exceedingly remarkable: for men are but too apt even to wrest the Scriptures to a sense, which favours their own cause, or gratifies their passions; and to find a completion of prophecy in events, which fall out in their own days, and concern themselves (as we see from so many absurd applications of the Apocalypse, justly objected to protestant writers;) though, when such events are passed, and impartially considered, no such accomplishment of prophecy can be discerned in them.

“When the church of Rome, therefore, now pretends that Antichrist is to be sought in Imperial and Pagan Rome, ye will naturally ask how it came to pass, that the ancient fathers, who had the best opportunity of seeing the conformity of the prophecies, and were so much interested in those transactions, should yet overlook such conformity, if it had been real, and fairly marked out by the prophecies, when interpreters of these days are so quick sighted? And to this question, no just and satisfactory answer can be given, but that in the opinion of those fathers, the characters of Antichrist were

not sufficiently applicable to the Roman Emperors; or if they were, that certain express clauses in the prophecies themselves forbade that application of them. Either way, their conduct forms a strong presumption, that the Antichrist of the prophets, was not, and could not be, the Roman Emperor.”^k

Bishop Newton, opposing Wetstein, uses a similar argument; “If this prophecy was fulfilled as these critics conceive, before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is surprising that none of the fathers should agree with any of them in the same application, and that the discovery should first be made sixteen or seventeen hundred years after the completion. The fathers might differ, and be mistaken in the circumstances of a prophecy which was yet to be fulfilled; but that a prophecy should be remarkably accomplished before their time, and they be totally ignorant of it, and speak of the accomplishment as still future, is not very credible, and will always be a strong presumptive argument against any such interpretation.”^l

If the Pope did not for so many ages perform the part assigned to the little horn, it may well lead us to suspect, that he was not the person prefigured by that symbol; if he did, it

^k Introduction, p. 222.

^l Diss. XXII. vol. II. p. 339.

is strange indeed, that those “ who had the best opportunity of seeing the conformity of the prophecies, and were so much interested in those transactions, should yet overlook such conformity, if it had been real and fairly marked out by the prophecies.”

But, explaining as we may, the ignorance of former ages, what is the state of things *now*? Here is the church of Christ, after writhing a millenium under the tyranny of the blasphemer, asking *WHEN* came I into his hands? Am I there *NOW*? It is strange indeed, that she should need to ask these questions; but it is stranger still, that her most enlightened guides should not agree in an answer. Surely this is not a subordinate matter; and surely it is not a trifling discrepancy, when Mede and Bishop Newton (to say nothing of the living) differ almost three centuries. Widely as I disagree, on some points, with the writer of an article in the *Theological Review*, which has fallen into my hands since most of these pages were written, I entirely concur with him when, speaking of the Apocalypse, he says, “ The mine has not yet been laid open, and no man must feel himself entitled to say, that it shall have been opened by himself, but on the evidence of something more authentic than his own belief of his success. The prophecy was given, as all prophecies, for the honour of God, and the enlight-

ening of man. To say that it is incapable of clear and convincing interpretation ; is to say, what we cannot under any shape admit, that the design of God has been frustrated. But as its purpose was to produce conviction, it must be laid down as a first principle with the interpreter, that GENERAL CONVICTION IS THE ONLY TEST. The individual or his party may be satisfied, but this is nothing, without the satisfaction of that various multitude, whose verdict is beyond partiality or passion, and for whose wisdom, encouragement, and advance in the faith, all revelation was given.”^m

This “general conviction” (thanks be to God,) we have in some cases. We can, and we do, look to fulfilled prophecy as a bulwark of our faith. After the prophet had said, “Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a child,” ages rolled on ; and while it was still future, we know not how much, or by how many, it was understood : but we know, that when “the fulness of the time was come,” and the prediction was accomplished, the church of God was not suffered to remain in darkness---she was not left to wander up and down, asking “Is this He that should come, or look we for another?” No---from the day of Simeon to this hour, her joyful acclamation hath been, “Unto

^m No. VII. p. 120.

us a child is born, unto us a son is given"---her steady eye has never turned from the bright star of hope and promise that first led her to Bethlehem---her unwavering faith has been, that he was despised and rejected of men, and that they hid as it were their faces from him; her well authenticated records attest, as matters of history, how all they that saw him laughed him to scorn---that they pierced his hands and his feet---that they parted his garments among them, and on his vesture they cast lots---that they gave him vinegar to drink. His disciples know well, when, and how, he was numbered with transgressors, and how his grave was made with the wicked and with the rich in his death.

But there is no need to argue this matter---we point the infidel to the captive Jew, and the wandering Arab; but who challenges him with the slain witnesses? We set before him the predicted triumphs of Cyrus; but do we expect his conversion from the French Revolution and the conquests of Napoleon? We send him to muse on the ruined city of David, and to search for the desolate scite of Babylon; but who builds his argument on the opened seals of the Apocalypse? And why is this? I do not speak hastily, and I would not speak uncharitably---but I cannot suppress my conviction, that it is because the necessity of filling up a period of 1260 years, has led to such forced interpretation

of language, and to such a constrained acquiescence in what is unsatisfactory to sound judgment, that we should be afraid not only of incurring his ridicule, but of his claiming the same licence, which we have ourselves been obliged to assume. I firmly believe that the error lies, in adopting an interpretation, which requires us to spread the events predicted respecting three years and a half, over more than twelve centuries; and which thus sends us to search the page of history for the accomplishment of prophecies still unfulfilled. The importance of rectifying such an error, if it exists, will be admitted by all; and the question of its existence, is that which I wish to see investigated. I therefore beg the reader, whom I would willingly suppose to prefer truth to system, to examine the prophecies in question; endeavouring, for the time, to forget whatever he may know of the various interpretations which have been offered: and may He, who is the Author and Giver of every good and perfect gift, grant to him, and to myself, by his grace and his Spirit, a right judgment to understand, and a true faith to believe, whatever he has seen fit to reveal in his most holy word!



A
SECOND ENQUIRY
INTO
THE GROUNDS
ON WHICH
THE PROPHETIC PERIOD
OF
Daniel and St. John,
HAS BEEN
SUPPOSED TO CONSIST OF 1260 YEARS,
CONTAINING
AN EXAMINATION OF THE ARGUMENTS OF MEDE—REMARKS ON A
PASSAGE IN THE DIALOGUES ON PROPHECY,—ON VARIOUS
REVIEWS OF THE FIRST ENQUIRY,—AND ON THE COMMON
INTERPRETATION OF THE SEVEN HEADS OF THE BEAST.

BY
✓
S. R. MAITLAND.

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PREFACE.

This second Enquiry is intended to meet some observations which have been made on the first; and I have adopted the arrangement in which its several parts will be found, for reasons which I will briefly state. The Examination of Mede's Arguments has been placed first, because it will make the reader who is not familiar with the subject, acquainted with the "reasons" which that writer considered as "clearly demonstrating" that the 1260 days are not to be understood as literal days—the passage in the Dialogues on Prophecy contains, I believe, no new argument; but consists chiefly of a collection of authorities in support of the mystical interpretation—in the Remarks on the Review in the Christian Observer, I have endeavoured to meet some arguments

which the Reviewer considers as having been hitherto inadequately noticed—in those on a Review in the Christian Examiner, I have merely attempted to clear myself from what has appeared to the Reviewer to be a culpable omission in my former Enquiry—these are followed by some Remarks on a Review in the Christian Guardian, in which, on the suggestion of the Reviewer, I have stated, as briefly as I could, some considerations which appear to me to furnish direct^a evidence against the mystical interpretation—to these are added some observations on the common interpretation of the seven heads of the Beast, which are intended as a specimen of the more detailed examination to which it is proposed to submit the various parts of the system.

In this, as well as in my former, Enquiry, I have endeavoured to keep to the single question which I proposed—namely, whether the 1260 days are *literal days*, or *years*—and when, in pursuance of this object, I have noticed the inter-

^a I observe that in the section referred to I have called it *positive* evidence—I beg the reader to understand that I only used the word as opposed to *negative*.

pretation of any particular part of the prophecy, I have (except where the avowed object was to exhibit their discrepancy) selected those parts in which there is the most agreement among expositors; my design being not so much to impugn the system of any particular writer on the 1260 years, as to investigate that one point, which is the common foundation of all. On this account, I have been prevented from taking specific notice of the “Reply, by a Member of “the Church of England;” I say this, merely that I may not appear to pass it over in disrespectful silence; and I think it will be obvious to every reader that the principles of interpretation for which the author contends, may be either adopted, or rejected, without deciding, or very materially affecting, that one single point, which it is my present object to discuss. For the same reason, I have had no opportunity of offering any acknowledgment to one or two Reviews, to which I have made no reference; but whose favourable notice of my former pamphlet has encouraged me in this undertaking.

At the time when my Enquiry was published,

I was not aware that the literal interpretation of the 1260 days had been maintained in a work recently published.^b I mention this, not only that I may offer my thanks to the author, for that and for other works on the subject, for which I am indebted to his kindness; but because, in some parts, the line of argument is so similar to that which I have myself followed, that the readers of that work might reasonably think me guilty of having borrowed from it without acknowledgment.

^b “Hints humbly submitted to Commentators; and more especially to those who have written elaborate Dissertations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John: by William Witherby,” London, 1821. The same view had been previously maintained in “A Review of Scripture, in testimony of the truth of the second Advent, the first Resurrection, and the Millennium, &c. by a Layman”—London, 1818—a work containing many suggestions which I believe to be original, and which certainly well deserve the consideration of the writers on prophecy.

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ERRATA.

P. 12, l. 6,	for "his"	read "is."
— 37, — 11,	— "Venerna"	— "Venema."
— 113, — 5 from bottom,	— "xviii."	— "xvii."

A SECOND ENQUIRY, &c.

SINCE the publication of my “Enquiry” I have been asked, by more than one of my clerical brethren, whether I had duly considered the arguments of MEDE in support of the mystical interpretation of the 1260 days? As his name has, and ought to have, great weight with all who are acquainted with his character, and writings; and as the question seems to imply that his argument is either fuller, or more forcibly stated, than Mr. Faber’s, I have thought it right to give it a fresh, and more particular examination.

Mr. Irving, indeed, in his preliminary discourse to the work of Lacunza, has said (p. xxix.) “Now I am not ignorant that there are amongst
“ourselves men who doubt and disbelieve the
“interpretation which almost all Protestants
“give to this period, as containing a term of
“1260 years; and that of late a pamphlet has
“been written by a very worthy clergyman of
“the Church of England to this effect: but really

“ I have thought this matter so *completely set at rest* by MEDE, and HENRY MORE, and the common consent of those who have written since, as not to need any demonstration. And it is manifest that, if in emblematical visions,^a such as those of Daniel and the Apocalypse, you will interpret the periods literally, you may as well interpret the other parts literally, and insist upon literal beasts of the character there set forth, and a literal throne, and so of the rest, which no one will be so foolish as to require.”

I may be “ foolish ” (for such is the misfortune of many “ very worthy ” persons) but I must avow that I do “ interpret the other parts literally, and insist upon literal beasts of the character there set forth, and a literal throne, and so of the rest ; ” and, as far as I can find, most commentators (with Mr. Irving himself I suspect) do the same. Thus when Daniel says

^a Strictly speaking the period does not occur in an “ emblematical vision,” but in the *explanation* or *interpretation* of one; and I do not see why *times* may not be *years* in this vision, as much as in the vision of the Tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw. Was not that an emblematical vision? and were not those of Pharoah’s Butler and Baker, and of Pharoah himself, “ emblematical visions?” yet the periods were literal; that is, the days were literal days, though emblematically represented by vine branches and baskets, and the years were literal years, though symbolized by kine.

he saw "*a goat*," I understand the word to mean that "literal beast," and nothing else; for who pretends that the prophet meant to express, by that word, more or less than what it implies in its literal and obvious sense? I know that the *goat* which Daniel saw was a *type* or *emblem* of the King of Grecia; but nobody (I believe) understands that he saw, or appeared to see, more or less than a "literal beast." Mr. Irving seems to me to argue as he might have done if it were ascertained from some other source of information, that in his vision Daniel had actually seen the King of Grecia, and then had described that vision by saying that he saw "*a goat*." This would certainly be using the word *goat* mystically, and we should be obliged to confess, that he did not mean a "literal beast." Undoubtedly the beasts which Daniel saw were *emblematical*, but nothing can be more *literal* than the language in which he has described them; let it only be admitted (and I cannot conceive why it should not) that by the word *day* he means *day*, as much as by the word *goat*, he means *goat*, and all farther argument on my part would be needless. I am not aware that his description of the beasts contains *any one figurative expression*, except we so consider that which relates to the *horn* plucked up by the *roots*; and, his having described *emblematical things*, in *plain words*,

gives no colour for maintaining that in another place he made such an unwonted and mystical use of a word, as that we ought to translate it by another word. Every body I believe agrees that he saw *literal* beasts which were emblematical of other things, and stated to be so. Nobody, as far as I know, has suggested that he spoke of a certain 1260 *days* which were to symbolize a certain 1260 *years*. In short we are here called upon to substitute the word *year* in the text for *day*; is there any other part of the book of Daniel in which we could take the liberty to substitute the name of the thing symbolized, for the word which the prophet uses, without falsifying his meaning?—when Daniel says “four great *beasts* came up from the *sea*” it would be absurd, and would not convey his meaning, if we were to read “four great *empires* arose on the *earth*,” although those beasts were symbolical of four Empires; and this is just because his *language* is *literal*, while he speaks of *things* that were *emblematical*.

Mr. Irving however goes on to say, “And
“ why require it in one part and not in another?
“ The word time, rather than year; and times
“ rather than two years; and the dividing of
“ time rather than half a year; were evidence
“ to me that there was a mystery under it:”^b but

^b The reader may find some remarks on this point in the reply to the Review in the Christian Observer.

“ when I find it in the midst of an emblematical “ vision” [allow me to add—in the midst of plain language, the words of which are by the common consent of interpreters taken in their obvious and literal sense] “ I can have no doubt “ thereof, according to all rules and canons of “ interpretation.”

With regard to the question, “ Why require “ it in one part and not in another?” I think I have answered it for myself, by shewing that I do require *words* to be taken according to their *obvious meaning* as it regards the *beasts*, as much as I do with regard to the *periods*; but the inconsistency seems to me to lie on the other side; for as far as I know, except on the one point of the *periods*, Mr. Irving himself would agree with me in taking the words of Daniel according to their obvious meaning.—If he considered the word “ time ” instead of “ year ” in Chap. V. as “ evidence that there was a mystery under it,” why did he not view it in the same light in Chap. IV. ; and maintain that the years of Nebuchadnezzar’s banishment were mystical? To be sure there would have been some difficulty in persuading his readers that the King of Babylon was exiled for 2520 years; and yet I think Mr. Irving would hardly have liked to explain the matter as some have done. I cannot help wishing however that, instead of confining his reference to two writers whose

arguments I had *not* quoted, and whose works the greater part of his readers have probably never seen, he had taken some notice of the writer whose arguments I did give at full length, and whose works are much more popular, and accessible to general readers.

It is needless to say that on this occasion I think Mr. Faber the advocate of a bad cause; but that he is an able, and intrepid advocate, the world needs not be told. It is pretty certain that he was not ignorant of what Mede, and Henry More, and his other predecessors had said upon the subject; and I really thought that in taking the argument as stated by him, I was meeting it in its strongest form; and that by printing it at full length in his own words, I was doing it all the justice in my power. It was natural to suppose that a person of Mr. Faber's ability and practice, as a controversial writer, would state the argument to the best advantage, and indeed I think he has done so; but as the name of MEDE stands so high, and he has been mentioned by others beside Mr. Irving, I shall be obliged to any reader who will go with me through his arguments, and a few remarks upon them. As to the arguments of Henry More, I must say that I do not think them worth a particular examination. It appears to me that whatever they contain, which is not found in the argument as stated

by Mede, or Faber, is so plainly irrelevant, or false, or absurd, as to require no confutation.

I will therefore lay before the reader the argument of Mede, with some observations in reply to it, and will adopt the method which I before pursued with regard to the argument of Mr. Faber—that is, I will set down the whole, replying to each part separately.

“ FIVE REASONS, ”

“ Clearly demonstrating that the anti-christian or apoc-
 “ tatical times are more than three single years and a
 “ half.”

- “ I. Because impossible so many things, and of such
 “ quality, as are to be performed in this time, should
 “ be done in three single years and an half—as
- “ 1. Ten kingdoms, founded at the same hour with
 “ the beast. (Ch. xvii.)
 - “ 2. Peoples and multitudes of nations and tongues
 “ to serve and obey him. (Ch. xiii.)
 - “ 3. To make war with the saints, and overcome
 “ them. (Ibid.)
 - “ 4. To cause all that dwell upon the earth to wor-
 “ ship him.
 - “ 5. Babylon to ride the beast so long, that all
 “ nations shall drink the wine of her fornication,
 “ all kings of the earth commit fornication with
 “ her. (Ch. xvii. and xviii.)
 - “ 6. The merchants and all those that had ships in
 “ the sea to grow rich by trading with her. (Ch.
 “ xviii.) These things should ask more than three
 “ years work, or four either.”

In this first reason there are six things mentioned; and the whole objection rests upon the IMPOSSIBILITY of their being performed in three years and a half.

To speak of each separately.

“ 1. Ten kingdoms founded at the same hour with the beast.” Why is it IMPOSSIBLE that ten kingdoms should be founded in three years and a half? Surely it is not unreasonable to ask for something more than dogmatical assertion. If it be said that it is very *improbable*, I reply, that this has nothing to do with the question; and that those who use great words should be prepared to stand by them. It does indeed make all the difference in the world, whether the thing can be shewn to be *impossible*, or whether it is only, in the judgment of mankind, *improbable*. But I am perfectly ready to meet the objection with this qualification; which, I suppose, it absolutely requires. Is it more *improbable* than events which have already occurred in fulfilment of prophecy? And are we to make our judgment of *probability* the test by which prophecy is to be tried, and the rule by which it is to be interpreted? It will be remembered, that this argument rests entirely on the impossibility (I am willing to qualify it into improbability) of performance; and I ask, is it more improbable that ten kingdoms should be founded in three years and a half, than that a

virgin should conceive and bear a child? - Is it more improbable than that the world should be drowned by a flood, that Babylon and Nineveh should be blotted out, or that no stone should remain on another in Jerusalem? I apprehend that it would be quite absurd to compare the *probability* of any one of these things, by which the prophecies of scripture have been literally fulfilled, with the probability that ten kingdoms *may be* founded in the course of three years and a half?

What did Napoleon do in *one year and a half*? I will state it in Mr. Frere's words. "The first
 " day of the new year 1806 was distinguished
 " in Germany by an event not a little singular;
 " viz. the coronation of the Electors of Wirtem-
 " berg and Bavaria, *as Kings*; which dignity
 " was further amplified by a considerable in-
 " crease of territory, at the expence of the un-
 " fortunate house of Austria. Again, on the 15th
 " of March, of the *same year*, Murat was invested
 " with the *Duchies* of Berg, and Cleves. * * * * *
 " In the *same year* Holland was *made a Kingdom*,
 " and Louis Buonaparte, a younger brother of
 " Napoleon, was placed upon the throne. *In*
 " *this year* Saxony also was *erected into a King-*
 " *dom*. We again read that, on the 31st of
 " March, 1806, Buonaparte submitted to the
 " Senate a variety of decrees for it's approba-
 " tion: by one of them he conferred the *King-*

“ *dom* of Naples on his brother Joseph: by
 “ another he gave to Berthier the *Principality*
 “ of Neufchatel, and by another he *created a*
 “ *number of Duchies*, with suitable revenues,
 “ in Italy, to be distributed among the civil
 “ and military officers. * * * * The *erection*
 “ *of the Duchy of Benevento into a fief of the*
 “ *French Empire*, in favour of Talleyrand, with
 “ the title of *Prince and Duke* of Benevento,
 “ and the *grant of the Duchy* of Ponte Corvo to
 “ Marshal Bernadotte, by a similar tenure, fol-
 “ lowed *some months* after the preceding esta-
 “ blishments. From his Imperial Camp at
 “ Finkenstein, on the other side of the Vistula,
 “ Buonaparte wrote, on the 28th May, 1807, to
 “ the Conservative Senate, that he had *instituted*
 “ *Duchies* as rewards for eminent services done
 “ him, whether military, or civil; and that in
 “ pursuance of this system of encouragement
 “ he had created, by letters patent, the Mar-
 “ shal Le Febvre *Hereditary Duke* of Dant-
 “ zig, &c.”^c

Surely no person who believes that these
 facts actually occurred in less than *one* year and
 a half, can doubt that a prophecy, predicting
 the formation of ten kingdoms, may be literally
 fulfilled in *three* years and a half.

I have argued thus, because I think Mr.

^c Combined View, p. 460.

Mede's objection altogether without weight, even on his own principles: but I will not dissemble my conviction, that the passage in question does not speak of the *establishment of Kingdoms* at all. It stands thus: "The ten horns " which thou sawest are TEN KINGS, which " have received no KINGDOM as yet; but receive power as KINGS one hour with the " Beast."^d It is certainly convenient for those who maintain the doctrine of 1260 years, to turn the *Kings* into *Kingdoms*, though I do not know by what rule of interpretation that is to be effected. I may perhaps have occasion to speak again of this passage in the course of this Enquiry, and in the mean time I will only say, that I believe it to refer to individual Kings; and the assumption of regal power by an individual, or his investment by a superior, is not necessarily, or even probably, a work of much time.

" 2. Peoples and multitudes of nations and tongues to
" serve and obey him. (Ch. xiii.)"

From the *character* given of the Beast and the predicted *state* of the world, it does not seem to me *improbable* (much less would I dare to say impossible) that, in three years and a half, such a power as is described might attain so great a sovereignty. He is a being so ex-

^d Rev. xvii. 12.

traordinary that it is quite absurd to judge of him by common rules. We read (Rev. xiii. 2) that “the Dragon gave him his power, and his “seat, and great authority”—that “power was “given him over all kindreds and tongues and “nations”—that he his accompanied by another being who “causeth the earth, and them that “dwell therein to worship” him, and “doeth “great wonders, so that he maketh fire come “down from heaven on earth in the sight of “men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the “earth by the means of those miracles which “he hath power to do in the sight of the first “beast” (v. 12, 13.) Surely it would be a waste of words to argue on the possibility that two beings so singularly constituted, and endowed, may rapidly deceive those who are estranged from the faith of Christ, and upon whom God hath sent “strong delusion that “they should believe a lie.”^e

“ 3. To make war with the saints, and overcome them.
“ (Ch. xiii.)”

“ 4. To cause all that dwell upon the earth to worship
“ him. (Ch. xiii.)”

What has been already said seems equally applicable to these points.

“ 5. Babylon to ride the Beast so long that all nations
“ shall drink the wine of her fornication, all Kings of
“ the Earth commit fornication with her. (Ch. xxvii.
“ 28.)”

^e 11. Thess. ii. 1.

In order to make this objection of any weight whatever, it will be necessary to shew, 1st, that the woman arrayed in purple sits upon the Beast only under his last head, or during the 1260 days; and, 2dly, that her adulterous intercourse with the Kings of the Earth is carried on only during the same period. I apprehend it will be no easy matter to prove these points, and unless they are proved, the objection falls to the ground.

“ 6. The merchants, and all those that had ships in the
 “ sea, to grow rich by trading with her (ch. xviii.);
 “ these things should ask more than three years work,
 “ or four either.”

Much the same may be said on this point. I do not know where it is even hinted, that the traffic of the Merchants with Babylon, takes place only during the 1260 days, or during any particular period. I find no mention of the Merchants except in ch. xviii. 11—19; and, for anything that appears in that account of them, their traffic may have been carried on during the whole period of Babylon's existence.

“ II. Because that King, state of government, sovereign-
 “ ty, seignory (or what you will) of the Beast, under
 “ which the whore should ride him, followeth immedi-
 “ ately upon a former, which, in comparison, is said to
 “ continue but a short space. Rev. xvii. 10. But if
 “ the antichristian state shall continue but three years

“ and a half literally taken, how short must the time
“ of that foregoing King or sovereignty be, which
“ should occasion the Holy Ghost to insert so singular
“ a note of the difference thereof from that which fol-
“ loweth that it should continue but a short space?
“ Doth not this imply, that the next state wherein the
“ whore should ride the beast, was to continue a long
“ space?”

I should really think it sufficient to answer, that I do not at all see how this is implied; and I do not think an unbiassed reader would ever have dreamed of such a thing. I am at a loss to conceive what right Mr. Mede has to say, that the statement of the brief duration of the seventh head, is a “ note of the difference there-
“ of *from that which followeth.*” The words are,
“ There are seven Kings; five are fallen; and
“ one is, and the other is not yet come; and
“ when he cometh he must continue a short
“ space, and the beast that was and is not, even
“ he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth
“ into perdition.” How does this imply that the eighth head is to endure for a long space? Surely, if we consider the word “ short” as relative at all, it is much more natural to refer it to the sixth head, whose duration will have become a past and ascertained period before the seventh head arises. To me however it appears that it is a simple statement of the brief duration of the seventh head, without reference to any other.

“ III. Because if the 1260 days of the witnesses (which
 “ begin and end with the time of Antichrist) be literally taken, then must their three days and an half,
 “ wherein they lie slain by the beast, (ch. xi. 9) be so
 “ taken also. But how is it possible the nations, and
 “ people of the Earth, should make feasts, send gifts
 “ and presents one unto another, in three days and an
 “ half. How should the half day be a competent time
 “ to distinguish or limit any of the actions there mentioned? If the Holy Ghost had meant nothing but
 “ days, would he have been so precise for half a day?”

It is not my intention to repeat in this place what I have said in reply to this argument (which is stated by Mr. Faber with quite as much force and more fairness) in my former Enquiry.^f On this statement of the argument, however, I would remark, that it is not said that “ the nations and people of the Earth shall
 “ make feasts, send gifts and presents one unto
 “ another.” It is merely said, “they that
 “ dwell upon the Earth;” an expression which Mr. Faber limits to the papists of the Roman Empire;^g and I know of no reason for the alter-

^f P. 26.

^g “ To adopt the language of prophecy, they that dwell
 “ upon the *Roman earth*, the papists of the various tongues,
 “ and nations, into which the *Great City* had been divided
 “ by the incursions of the Goths, rejoiced over the two
 “ prophets that tormented them by their troublesome admonitions, and made merry and sent gifts one to another.”—
 Vol. II. p. 84. I should like to see a fuller account of these popish rejoicings than I have ever yet met with.

ation, which I could attribute to Mede, because according to his system, “the people and kindreds and tongues and nations,” mentioned in the preceding verse, are the *friends* of the witnesses, while these dwellers upon the Earth are their *enemies*. But in my former Enquiry I made no allusion to this limitation, or to the still greater one which is made by translating *ΟΙ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΗΥΤΕΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ* “those who dwell on the *land*,” because I wish to meet the argument in its strongest form, and am convinced that it has no force even if we construe the phrase, “they *that dwell on the earth*,” in the utmost latitude that any reasonable man can require.

Will the reader do me the favour, or perhaps I may say the justice, to imagine that, in some way or other, the *whole human race*^b had been tormented by two prophets during three years and a half—that these prophets had power to shut heaven that it should not rain—to turn water into blood—and to smite the earth with *ALL* plagues so often as they would—that, dreadful as their inflictions were, there seemed

^b This immense latitude is never insisted upon except to maintain the mystical interpretation of the days; and is utterly inconsistent with all those systems which suppose the witnesses to have been already slain. Which of the events that have been supposed to fulfil that prediction was *known*, and rejoiced in, by one twentieth part of the dwellers on the earth?

to be no hope of their destruction, because fire proceeded out of their mouths, and devoured their enemies; killing infallibly all who attempted to hurt them—that, after appearing thus terrible and invincible to a world groaning beneath the torment for three years and a half, they should actually be slain in the street, or broad place, of a *great* city, by some person, or power, after whom *all the world* is wondering, (ch. xvii. 8,) and in the presence of some out of the various people and kindreds and tongues and nations of the world. Let the reader, I say, imagine this case, (and I believe nothing is supposed but what he will find distinctly stated in Rev. xi. 5—10,) and I will ask him, how long he thinks it would be before the news of such an astonishing event would issue from the *great* city, and spread through a world groaning in hopeless misery under plagues like those of Egypt?—how far would it have spread in three days and a half? and how could the equally surprising, and perhaps more incredible, intelligence of their unexpected revival, be circulated with such rapidity, as to prevent a general rejoicing, fully sufficient to answer the statement, that those that dwelt upon the earth rejoiced over them, and made merry and sent gifts one to another.

Mr. Mede however adds, “How should the
“ half day be a competent time to distinguish

“or limit any of the actions there mentioned?” Now, to speak freely, this question seems to me to be not only unmeaning, but unfair; and, in a writer of less respectability, I should look upon it as a trap for unsuspecting readers.

Strictly speaking, there is no half day mentioned, but only a continuous period of three days and a half. If I may be allowed so familiar an illustration, it is as unfair to say, “what can be done in half a day?” as it would be to say of any man, “what can he buy for sixpence?” when in fact he has received three shillings and sixpence; a sum for which we have no name, and of which we cannot speak without mentioning the odd half shilling. But even if the half day is mentioned, is it pretended that it does “distinguish or limit any of the actions there mentioned?” I do not see that any action is assigned to the half day; or that any action is assigned to the whole three days and a half, except that the bodies of the witnesses should lie publicly exposed to attest the reality of their death, while the news of that event should be circulated.

As to the question, “If the Holy Ghost had “meant nothing but days, would he have been “so precise for half a day?” I wish to say nothing; and I believe my argument will not suffer materially if I pass it over without expressing the feelings which it excites.

IV. " Because six of the trumpets, and the things which
 " they bring, by necessity of contemporation, are in-
 " cluded in the compass of the Antichristian time.
 " Two whereof, by the express times mentioned in
 " them, (in the fifth of five months, ch. ix. 5, and in
 " the sixth of thirteen, ch. ix. 15,) take up a year and
 " an half, that is near half the time ; which, though
 " far too little (if literally taken) for the great things
 " prophecied in them, yet what time will they leave
 " for the four other trumpets, and for the seven vials
 " which also are poured out upon the beast, and afore
 " his times are finished ? What time alone will the
 " sixth vial require for preparing the way of the Kings
 " of the East, for the frogs to go forth unto the Kings
 " of the Earth, and of the whole world, to gather them
 " to the battle of that great day of God Almighty, &c."

It is obvious that the strength of this objection lies in the assumption, that Mede is right in his interpretation of other parts of the prophecy ; and it happens unfortunately, that the very point on which he insists is opposed by many (I believe I may say most) other commentators. This "necessity of contemporation" is denied by the systems of Bishop Newton, Mr. Faber, Dr. Hales, Messrs. Lowman, Cunningham, and I believe many others. Perhaps, therefore, I need say little about it. The case is the same with the sixth trumpet, which Mede states must occupy thirteen months, by the "express times mentioned" in it. This is denied by Mr. Faber, who states that the time referred to was the *first* hour of the 29th day of

May, A.D. 1453, and adds in a note, "There
 " is a question respecting the day, the hour,
 " the month and the year, whether they denote
 " a certain *season of continuance*, or an *appointed*
 " *epoch of action*. Mr. Mede, Mr. Brightman,
 " Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Mr. Fle-
 " ming, and other expositors, adopt the former
 " opinion; Archdeacon Woodhouse, on the con-
 " trary, asserts that '*the original language will*
 " *not admit of this construction*,' and therefore
 " rejects it altogether. (Apoc. Tran. p. 260,
 " 262, 273.) Whether his assertion be *perfectly*
 " well founded, or not, I think him right in re-
 " jecting the idea that a *season of continuance* is
 " intended."ⁱ

But even supposing that Archdeacon Woodhouse is wrong, and Mede is right, (for my present business is to answer what *he* has said respecting the 1260 days, and therefore, for the sake of argument, I would admit as much as possible of *his* interpretation,) I do not see why

ⁱ Vol. II. p. 41.

This was written before the publication of Mr. Faber's Sacred Calendar of Prophecy. In that work, Mr. Faber reverts to what I believe was his original opinion, that a season of continuance is intended. He now makes it begin 9th of June, 1301, and end the 9th Sept. 1697. This is done by virtue of a sort of prophetic year, different from those of which the period of 1260 years is supposed to consist. They are supposed to contain 360 days each, but these $365\frac{1}{4}$.—Sac. Cal. of Proph. II. 430.

it is more absurd to suppose that any given trumpet should occupy thirteen months, or 391 *days*, out of 1260 *days*; than to suppose, as he does, that it occupies 396 *years* out of 1260 *years*. The proportion is much the same.

The whole argument, however, amounts but to this:—*If* Mede has rightly interpreted the trumpets, they will take up more than three years and a half—but what if his interpretation should be wrong? That he is mistaken in some material points, the commentators whom I have mentioned, agree; and I must freely say, that his explanation of the trumpets, and every other which I have seen, is so entirely unsatisfactory to my own mind, that I know not how to argue upon the length of time required for their duration.

When it is asked, “What time alone will the “sixth vial require for preparing the way of the “Kings of the East, &c.” I must needs say, that if the enquirer expects a rational answer to this question, he ought to be able to give, or should have some reason to expect from those whom he asks, some better information respecting the Kings of the East, the length of the way, the nature of the preparation, the means and instruments to be used in that preparation, than any man living pretends to possess. How, too, can any man pretend to specify the length of time which it must take the frogs to execute

their commission, when he is expressly told that "they are spirits of devils, working miracles?" Surely such speculations as these ought not to weigh one atom, against the plain letter of Scripture.

V. "Lastly, from the event. If Antichrist's times last
 "no longer than is supposed, then, either they are
 "passed long ago, or that sixth Roman Head, which
 "in St. John's time was, is still in being. But that
 "cannot be, when neither Greek nor Latin Cæsar are
 "now remaining. If any say the Latin Cæsar still
 "remains in the German Empire, as that which
 "succeeded unto it, I demand what succession can
 "that be, where was near 350 years interruption, a
 "longer time than some famous monarchies have had
 "for their whole continuance. If the Cæsarean state
 "may revive and continue the same after so many
 "years interregnum, how shall we ever know when it
 "is dead for adoe, and the time come that Antichrist
 "should be looked for? Besides, if the times of Anti-
 "christ be so short, and therefore yet to come (as they
 "must be unless they be longer), then are we yet
 "under the times of the Red Dragon, and all the
 "Trumpets yet to come. Let it be shewn how this
 "can be, if it appear we are not under these times of
 "the Dragon, then none of the Revelation is yet
 "fulfilled."

This is another instance in which the whole force of the argument lies in the assumption, that the author is right in other parts of his system. Whether the sixth head had or had not fallen in his time, I am sure I cannot tell—

but Mr. Faber absolutely contradicts the supposition; and matter in dispute between such writers forms but a bad foundation for an argument. Mr. Faber says, "From the commencement of the reign of Augustus, down to the memorable year 1806, a period which comprises a longer term than even eighteen centuries, the world has never been without an Emperor of the Romans; but in that year, for the first time, this ancient title disappeared from off the face of the earth, and we may now say, in the language of prophecy, six Roman Heads are fallen." ^k

It is really curious (especially considering Mr. Faber's strong language respecting the concurrence of expositors) to see two such writers, as himself and Mr. Mede, disputing whether, during whole centuries, there were any such things as Roman Emperors in existence.

With regard to the second part of this objection, in which Mr. Mede argues, that if the 1260 days are taken literally, the period of Antichrist must be future, and therefore we must be "yet

^k Vol. III. p. 21. In this new work Mr. Faber has altered his scheme of the heads, and making the first head go to sleep at the expulsion of Tarquin, supposes it to have revived in Augustus, and to have continued alive and awake until the year 1806. This of course makes no difference as to the point for which his opinion is here quoted.

“under the times of the Red Dragon,” I answer at once—that I believe the period of Antichrist is still future; and whatever may be thought of this opinion, it is matter of pure amazement to me how any man can doubt that we are “under the times of the Red Dragon.” Is it not plainly declared that the Dragon is Satan himself? What meaning is there in language, or how are we to expect assurance from a written revelation, if we can make the Dragon any thing but the great enemy of man, while we read, “The great Dragon was cast out, that old Serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.” (Rev. xii. 9.) No doubt we are under his times, and the “accuser of the brethren” is not yet cast down. Should this lead, as Mr. Mede intimates, to the supposition that the trumpets are still future, I cannot help it. It is not my business to defend his system; and the fact that the great Red Dragon is the Devil, seems to me so clearly revealed, that I should think it would raise a doubt in the mind of any reasonable person, as to the soundness of any system of interpretation incompatible with it. I do believe that the trumpets are all still future, and (as I have already said) all the interpretations which I have seen describing their fulfilment, appear to me so forced and unsatisfactory, as strongly to confirm this opinion.

Having thus gone through the five arguments, I proceed to notice an objection which Mr. Mede has appended to them.

“ Objection. But what example elsewhere in Scripture
“ of days signifying years?

“ Answer. Daniel’s seventy weeks. But you will say
“ the etymology of the Hebrew word שבוע is as ap-
“ plicable to sevens of years as sevens of days, and
“ therefore this instance proves not. I answer, the
“ question lies not in the etymology but the use,
“ wherein שבוע always signifies sevens of days, and
“ never sevens of years: wheresoever it is absolutely
“ put it means of days, is no where used of years.

“ Objection. But in the tenth of Daniel we find, as it
“ were for distinction’s sake, weeks of days; which
“ intimates there are weeks of years, which the use of
“ the word might indifferently signify.

“ Answer. It is ill translated; the Vulgar is better.
“ which hath days of weeks—‘ Lugebam trium Heb-
“ domadarum diebus,’ meaning that Daniel fasted and
“ did eat no meat in the day time for three weeks to-
“ gether, or some such like sense. (Gen. xxix. 27.)
“ The week which Laban would have Jacob fulfil be-
“ fore he gave him Rachel was not the seven years’
“ service, but the seven days of Leah’s wedding feast,
“ as the Targum translates, and the Vulgar, ‘ Imple
“ hebdomadam dierum hujus copulæ.’ Nor can it be
“ otherwise by the age of Rachel’s children.

“ Secondly. Let it be shewn in all the prophecy of
“ Daniel (or, for aught I know, in any other of the
“ prophets), where times of things prophesied expressed
“ by days are not to be understood of years. For
“ when the Angel means days, in Daniel, he express-
“ eth it, therefore, not by days (for so it were doubt-

“ful), but by evenings and mornings, ch. viii. 14, when
“he speaks of the persecution of Antiochus.”

With regard to the argument drawn from the prophecy of the seventy weeks, I have already spoken fully in my former Enquiry; and I believe I have there noticed every part of it, except that which, in order to get rid of Daniel's three weeks of days, (Dan. x.) suggests that he did not eat in the day time, “or some such like “sense,” which I really think requires no answer at all. To avoid repetition, therefore, I shall pass at once to the second answer: “Let it be “shewn in all the prophecy of Daniel (or, for “ought I know, in any other of the Prophets) “where times of things prophesied expressed “by days are not to be understood of years.”

I am perfectly amazed at this brave challenge, which I sincerely lament, because I know that bold assertion will generally carry the multitude by storm;¹ and that comparatively few readers

¹ This is not all, or perhaps the worst, when such broad assertions are made by writers of name. Ready-made demonstrations,” and “certainties,” and “impossibilities,” and bold, round assertions, are very handy for persons who undertake to lay down the law on subjects which are somewhat new to them. Dr. Hamilton, in his recent publication against the Millenarians, says, “Notwithstanding all that “Mr. Maitland has urged to the contrary; in EVERY “OTHER CASE, a day in the language of prophecy, denotes a year.” Pref. p. xi.

Whatever astonishment I might feel that such an asser-

take the trouble to enquire whether a writer has good ground, or any ground, for what he affirms with confidence. I answer that I know

tion should be made by Mede, I was less surprised to find it in the work of a writer who had just before made this frank, but humiliating, confession;—"It is matter of regret that the service which I have attempted in the following pages to discharge, has fallen into my hands. Few of my brethren could have been more unqualified for the undertaking. Prophecy and the Millenium had attracted *less of my attention* than the other parts of Revelation. They had seldom *presented themselves* to my notice in the course of expounding the Scriptures weekly to my congregation." p. ix. How it happened that the prophecies presented themselves but seldom "in the course of expounding the Scriptures," I cannot well understand; but I do not say that it was Dr. Hamilton's duty to have attempted any explanation of them, if they had. I think, however, that every man of real Christian spirit, whether he be a Millenarian or not, must join in the regret which the author expresses; especially as it is not apparent, or in any way, that I have seen, explained, why a person who considered himself (and who from the simple fact which he states evidently was) peculiarly disqualified for the business, should have undertaken it. Neither does it appear why, if the author wished to write a book, he did not take one of "the other parts of Revelation," with which his words seem to imply that he considered himself better acquainted; or why, if he must write a book on this subject, so momentous to all, so new to him, and, in the judgment of all parties, requiring so much calm and patient investigation, he should have done it "during a busy season of the year, when he was imperatively bound to attend to more important matters."

of only these prophecies in the Scriptures which predict a period in *terms of days*, and whether *any one* of them is to be understood of years, the reader may judge :—

1. That respecting the Deluge, “ Yet *seven days* and I will cause it to rain upon “ the earth *forty days and forty nights.*” Gen. vii. 4.
2. Joseph’s prediction relating to the Butler and Baker, “ the three Branches are “ *three days*—yet within *three days* shall “ Pharoah lift up thine head and restore “ thee, &c.” Gen. xl. 12. “ The three “ baskets are *three days,*” &c. v. 18.
3. Where it is predicted respecting certain of the plagues of Egypt, that they should be inflicted or removed, on the *next day.* Ex. viii. 10, ix. 5, x. 4.
4. The prediction to Joshua, that on the *seventh day* the walls of Jericho should fall. Jos. vi. 4.
5. The prophecy of Elisha, at the siege of Samaria, that the *next day* a measure of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. II. Kings, vii. 1.
6. Jonah’s prophecy respecting Nineveh, “ Yet *forty days* and Nineveh shall be “ overthrown.” Jon. iii. 4.
7. Our Lord’s predictions relating to himself, that, as Jonah had been three days

and three nights in the whale's belly, so he should be *three days and nights* in the heart of the earth, Matt. xii. 40; and that he would in *three days* rebuild that temple which they should destroy. John ii. 19.

8. Beside these, I am not aware of any other passage but that relating to the *ten days*, mentioned Rev. ii. 10, of which I have spoken already; and which, as far as I can find, the greater part of commentators do not understand to mean years.

I am not aware that any individual has ever supposed the word "day," in any one of these passages, (except the 7th and 8th) to mean year. There are, indeed, those who imagine the ten days in No. 8 to refer to Dioclesian's persecution; and others, who suppose the three days in No. 7 to be fulfilled by our Lord's personal ministry during three years, but their opinion is far from being generally received. I would, however, particularly recommend the second passage to the attention of those who talk of "*symbolical*" prophecies, and argue that in the explanations of them we must expect the periods to be mystically expressed.

Let me ask in my turn,—Is there any prophecy which is known to have been fulfilled in a given number of *years*, (except that of the

seventy weeks,) the period of which had been specified otherwise than *by years*? I find these predictions in terms of *years* :—

1. The bondage of Abraham's posterity in Egypt, during 400 years. Gen. xv. 13.
2. The seven years of plenty and of famine, predicted by Joseph to Pharoah. Gen. xli. 27.
3. The forty years' wandering of the Israelites. Num. xiv. 33.
4. The seven years of famine predicted by Elisha. II. Kings, viii. 1.
5. The sixty-five years respecting Ephraim. Is. vii. 8.
6. The three years respecting Moab. Isa. xvi. 14.
7. The seventy years respecting Tyre. Is. xxiii. 15-17, Jerem. xxv. 11, 12.
8. The two years relating to Jechoniah's return. Jerem. xxviii. 3, 11.
9. The seventy years' captivity. Jerem. xxix. 10.
10. The forty years' desolation of Egypt. Ezek. xxix. 12, 13.

I would beg the reader to consider these passages, and then to look again to Mr. Mede's question, and I think he will wonder how a writer, so well acquainted with the Scripture, could ever propose it; and I wish it may lead him to examine, meekly but carefully, all such

broad assertions, even when sanctioned by names as much entitled to veneration as that of Mede.

The remainder of this objection, which relates to the application of the 2300 Evenings and Mornings, (Dan. viii. 14) to Antiochus Epiphanes, is now, I apprehend, of no other use than to shew that Mede's opinion differed from that of almost all his successors; and is directly opposed to all the popular systems of the present day. Most modern writers, I believe, are prepared to follow Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, and to say with the latter, "these 2300 days can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, even though the days be taken for Natural days."^m To mention only the three writers to whom I have before alluded, and whom I quote as the most popular writers on the subject, Mr. Faber, Mr. Frere, and Mr. Cuninghame; all concur in understanding the days to mean years, though no two of them agree as to when the period began, and while Mr. Cuninghame makes the period 2300 years, Mr. Faber and Mr. Frere make it 2400. For my own part, I should agree with Mr. Mede in supposing the mornings and evenings to mean natural days, though not for the reason which

^m Vol. 11. p. 73.

he suggests. If, as he supposes, the angel avoided saying *days*, lest he should be supposed to mean *years*, the end has not been answered, for, as I have stated, almost every modern writer does understand him to mean *years*. I merely suppose the 2300 evenings and mornings are to be taken literally, because I know of no reason for supposing otherwise. If it be asked why it pleased God to employ this form of expression, rather than the simple word *day*, I do not know, that I am bound to find or to make a reason; but to myself it does not appear very unnatural, considering that the subject matter of the prophecy is the cessation of the *morning* and *evening* sacrifice.

Having thus gone through the five reasons adduced by Mede, I venture, with some confidence, to ask the reader whether it is not too much to say that they “CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE the antichristian, or apostatical times, “to be more than three single years and a “half.”

REMARKS

ON A

PASSAGE IN "DIALOGUES ON PROPHECY,"

PART IV. P. 312.

" *Philalethes*.—Do you feel quite confident the 1260
" days means always 1260 years?

" *Anastasius*.—The question in this place is rather, what
" period is meant to be measured by the words 'time,
" times, and half a time.' The argument drawn from
" the word 'day,' never meaning a 'year' in other
" parts of Scripture, is wholly inapplicable here, for
" the word is 'time,' and not 'day;' and certainly
" there is as much right to assume that the word 'time'
" signifies a 'year' as any other period; and it will
" hardly be contended that, in the fourth chapter, ver.
" 16, of this same prophet, the word signifies only a
" day, when during 'seven times' Nebuchadnezzar
" was to have his nails grow as long as birds' claws,
" his hair like eagles' feathers, and he was to be driven
" from men. In chap. xi. 13, we find the expression,
" 'shall certainly come at the end of times, even years,'
" *marg.*, which alone might settle the question."

This may be very conclusive against those
persons who have contended that a "time"

means a literal day; and really such freedom has been used in accommodating the terms of time to the events which particular periods were required to contain, that I can readily believe such writers to exist, though I have not met with any of their works. The Jews are charged by Justin Martyr with making a "time" a century; and I could easily bring a Protestant commentator to back that interpretation, or to maintain that *days* are literal *days*, or *weeks*, or *months*, or *years* (of different sorts,) or even *periods* of 360 years. I can therefore suppose that some writers may maintain that the "times" of Daniel mean *days*, or even hours.ⁿ As, however, I have not maintained such an opinion, or any one compatible with it, it is not my place to defend it. Indeed, if the author of the Dialogues should succeed in proving that a "time" means a literal *year*, it is obvious that

ⁿ Scaliger, indeed, seems to use the words *time* and *day* as synonymes.—He makes the $3\frac{1}{2}$ *times*, the period which elapsed between the rise of the Albigenes, and the Reformation; "*car un temps ou jour en l' Ecriture signifie cent ans.*" Scaligerana, prima, p. 39. Is not the reader prepared to exclaim with Vitringa, "*Quam hoc docte et pie cogitatum!*" He adds, however, with a simplicity which in a commentator of less gravity might almost induce a suspicion that his admiration was ironical, "*magno tamen mereretur, loca adscripta esse, quæ Scaliger respexerit, ubi annos in verbo Dei pro Secularibus sumi dicit.*"—Cited by Langius Gloria Chr. p. 122.

he will establish my doctrine at the expence of his own. But he proceeds—

“ With respect to the word ‘ day’ not being used in symbolical prophecies for a year, I know not how this new conceit has got into some people’s heads ; but since it is there, we must revert to our elements of criticism again ; so true is it in this, as in every thing else, ‘ there is nothing new beneath the sun.’

“ Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere cadentque

“ Quæ nunc sunt in honore.”

Can the author really mean that he *does not know* how this “conceit” has got into some people’s heads ; and is he so little acquainted with the history of interpretation, as to suppose that it is a “new” one ? Can he mention a writer, from the days of St. Paul to those of Wickliffe, who has maintained that “ days ” stand for “ years,” either in symbolical prophecies, or in any other part of the Scripture ?

I proceed, however, to notice the authorities which are brought forward against the literal interpretation of the days.

“ Dr. Cressener says, speaking of another prophecy of Daniel, namely, the 70 weeks, or 490 days, that they are taken for so many years, ‘ by almost the UNANIMOUS CONSENT of ALL INTERPRETERS.’

“ Dem. of Apoc. 170.

“ Whiston says, ‘ there can remain no reasonable doubt in the case.’ p. 17.

“ By Bishop Chandler you are referred to Aulus Gellius,

“ who, in Lib. III. ch. x., gives an account of a work
 “ of M. Varro, on the number seven, in which the
 “ author, ‘ *addit se jam duodecimam annorum hebdoma-*
 “ *dam ingressum esse*; that is, in his 78th year, ‘ *et ad*
 “ *eum diem Septuaginta hebdomadas librorum conscrip-*
 “ *sisse*,’ from which expressions it is clear that the
 “ mode of counting days as years was not unusual
 “ even by the heathen.”

As to the statement of Dr. Cressener, even supposing that, instead of relating to the 70 weeks, (of which I have spoken fully in my former Enquiry,) his words had reference to the 1260 days, what is it to the purpose? It is not denied that the 1260 days are taken for years “ by almost the unanimous consent of all interpreters,” in the limited sense in which such round assertions of commentators must be very commonly understood—that is, by most *protestant* interpreters—a limitation absolutely necessary, unless we suppose him who makes the assertion to be altogether ignorant or dishonest; and which very conveniently gets rid of the primitive church, the whole body of the fathers, and, in fact, of every writer before the Reformation. I began my former Enquiry by stating that my design was “ to promote an investigation of the grounds on which *most protestant commentators* have been led to consider the “ prophetic period of Daniel and St. John as “ consisting of 1260 years.” I did not question

the fact, but the reason of it; and I did not suppose that such a question could be decided by a collection of authorities. If I had, I might have cited enough from those writers who lived during the long course of ages, in which (as far as I know) nobody doubted that the days were literal days; and even among protestant writers, notwithstanding their “*almost* unanimous consent,” I believe I might have paraded the names of Scaliger, Forb̄es, Bullinger, Broughton, Lightfoot, Langius, Venerna, Leydekker, Bengel, Roos, Wetstein, Grotius, Hammond, Brown, Michaelis, Herder, Storr, Eichorn, Bertholdt, and Dathe; and might probably have found many more, if I had taken the trouble to look for them. Where a question has been much litigated, nothing is more easy than to multiply authorities on either side; but I should be unwilling to rest my argument in any degree upon the *mere dicta* of any writer, whose judgment I did not respect in other matters; and I should think that any advantage which I might gain over an adversary by such means was scarcely fair. While, for instance, I believe Whiston to have been a peculiarly wrong-headed man, I should think that my opinion would derive very little real support from his affirming that “there could be no reasonable doubt in the case;” though his name might swell my list of authorities; and his bold

assertion might carry away those who might not be aware, that on the same principle of submission to his authority, they should deny the Deity of Christ, and bind up the Sibylline Oracles in their bibles, by way of returning to what he called “primitive christianity.” *Arguments*, even from persons more absurd and heretical than Whiston, demand attention; but the *mere dicta* of such persons are entitled to none whatever.

It will be much for the reader’s advantage, not only to investigate how far writers quoted are to be admitted as *authorities*, when bare, dogmatic assertions are produced; but also, *when facts are stated*, to enquire how far they warrant the inferences drawn from them. A striking illustration is offered in the next sentence. It is certainly true that Aulus Gellius devotes a whole chapter to giving an account of a work by M. Varro, on the various virtues and powers of the number *seven*, which after the Greeks he called a “hebdomad.”^o Gellius, having stated many of his sayings on the subject, adds, that so far he wrote well enough; but that, beside these, he had put together some poor conceits about the seven wonders of the world, &c.; adding also, with respect to

^o “Septenarii numeri quem Græci *εβδομαδα* appellant, “Virtutes, potestatesque multas, variasque dicit.”

himself, that he had entered upon his twelfth hebdomad of years, and had up to that time written seventy hebdomads of books.^p

Now, is it not most surprising, that this conceit of Varro's, which, as far as appears, was wholly his own, and which is quoted in a contemptuous manner by the writer who has preserved it, should be confidently produced to shew that "the mode of counting days as years" "was *not unusual* even by THE HEATHEN."^q To me it seems to prove nothing but that the old gentleman having written a whole book on the number seven, had so filled his mind with hebdomads, that he saw them (as Brown did the quincunx) where nobody else ever dreamed of the matter; and therefore indulged himself

^p "Hæc Varro de numero septenario scripsit admodum
"conquisitè, sed *alia quoque ibidem congerit frigidiuscula;*
"veluti septem opera esse in orbe terrarum miranda, et sa-
"pientes item veteres septem fuisse, et curricula ludorum
"circensium solemnia septem esse, et ad oppugnandas
"Thebas duces septem delectos. Tum ibi addit se quoque
"jam duodecimam annorum hebdomadam ingressum esse
"et ad eum diem Septuaginta hebdomadas librorum con-
"scripsisse: ex quibus aliquammultos, quum proscriptus
"esset, direptis bibliothecis suis non comparuisse."—Aul.
Gell. Lib. III. c. 10.

^q If it proved any thing, surely it would rather prove that the Heathen counted *years* for *days*. But then, perhaps, we are to suppose that if they did one, they did the other. Why not? But does it not quite as much prove that they counted *books* for *days*?

in the conceit of stating his own age, and how many books he had written, in terms of his favourite number. I believe that the mode of counting days as years was altogether unknown “by the heathen.” If it “was not unusual,” plenty of instances may be brought; and I wonder that they have not been adduced by writers like Mede or Faber, from whom we are warranted to expect all that classical learning, and a knowledge of pagan antiquity, can bring to the elucidation of the subject.

But the author proceeds—

“Lowth on Jer, xxx. 7, says, ‘The word day often comprehends a succession of time, in which a whole series of events is transacted.’ ‘The word day, says Mede, p. 945, ‘is used ordinarily for *tempus*, yea, *longissimum*.’ Daubuz observes, that ‘the terms of days and years must be determined by the circumstances and intent of the writer.’ Gataker has shewn that “even the word *ημερα* is often employed in an enlarged sense. More, speaking of the term three days and *a half*, says this last expression would of itself be sufficient to shew the absurdity of confining the term day to a period of 24 hours, adding, ‘there are scarce any now so ignorant as not to be ashamed to conceit these days to be natural days.’” Myst. of

^r The remark already made on Whiston, applies equally to More. It is a mere dogmatical assertion of what is perhaps hardly true in the latitude in which it is likely to be taken by most readers. I imagine, however, that the “scarce any” who took the days for literal days were, and always will be, more numerous than those who adopt More’s own opinion, that each of those days is a period of 360 years. Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, p. 106.

“ God, p. 177. Dr. Kennedy observes, p. 581, that
 “ the word \square sometimes denotes 12 hours, as in Gen.
 “ i. 5, viii, 12, and sometimes 24 hours, as Gen. i. 5,
 “ and vii. 17; and ‘ when this term occurs without any
 “ explanatory adjuncts, it seems to be quite indefinite,
 “ and to carry along with it no determinate signifi-
 “ cation at all.’ M. Gibert, in a letter published in
 “ Amsterdam, in 1743, shows, by the authorities of
 “ Macrobius, Eudoxus, Varro, Diodorus Siculus,
 “ Pliny, Plutarch, St. Augustin, &c., that by *a year*
 “ the ancients meant the revolution of any planet in the
 “ heavens, so that it sometimes consisted only of one
 “ day. See Encyclop. Art. Chronology.”

The word *day*, and its representatives, in every language of which I have any knowledge, does, I believe, signify, and is “ used ordinarily for *tempus*—*yea longissimum*.” Thus the “ day of the Lord,” the “ day of vengeance,” the “ day of small things,” &c. as these phrases are used in the scripture, are periods which nobody supposes to consist of twenty-four, or any other particular number of hours. The word, however, cannot be used in the Hebrew language with more latitude than it is in our own; yet who ever dreamed that such a use of the term would warrant, or in any way give colour to, our understanding a *given number of days* to mean that precise number of *years*? Let us apply this argument to our own language; to which, I believe, it is equally applicable. Suppose we should read of any convict, that “ as

“ long as he remained in this country, and was
“ able to pursue his evil courses with impunity,
“ he turned a deaf ear to all good advice ; but
“ in the day of adversity his heart was gradu-
“ ally softened, and his whole conduct seemed
“ to indicate a complete reformation. On his
“ return to England, he immediately sought
“ out his father, and entreated his forgiveness,
“ with every mark of contrition; but after he
“ had spent two days of sobriety and peace in
“ the bosom of his family, he was discovered
“ by his old associates in crime, whom he re-
“ joined, and with whom he soon after commit-
“ ted that offence for which he incurred a
“ second seven years’ transportation.” What
if some critic should maintain from this pas-
sage, that the subject of the narrative lived
decently with his friends, after his return, for
fourteen years? Should we not laugh in his
face, if he told us that the word *day* in the
English language often signified “ *tempus*—yea
“ *longissimum* ;” that “ without some explana-
“ tory adjuncts” it seemed to be “ quite indefi-
“ nite,” and in “ their absence to carry along
“ with it no determinate signification at all ;”
that in the present case, however, the author
had given us a clue to the sense in which he
used it, by calling the first period of exile a *day*
of adversity; and that it would violate all the
rules of homogeneity to suppose that he spoke

of figurative and literal days in the same sentence ; that every canon of interpretation, and sound criticism, required that the *days* of sobriety and peace should be of the same nature, kind, or quality, as the *day* of adversity, which was indisputably and irresistibly DEMONSTRATED to have extended to no less a period than seven literal years.

It may perhaps be said—"Yes ; but we are " not here speaking of plain matters of fact, " but of a symbolical prophecy." I answer, that we are speaking of no such thing, but of the way in which the word day is "*ordinarily*" used ; and this ordinary use is the whole foundation of the present argument. Let us keep to one thing at a time ; as to symbolical prophecies, I have said something already, and shall have occasion to say more in the course of this Enquiry. With the argument drawn from the way in which the word day is "*ordinarily* used," they have obviously nothing to do. As far as I know, the word "*day*" is ordinarily used in Hebrew as it is in English, and has nothing more mysteriously indefinite about it in one language than in the other. If then the argument is good in one language, it is equally good in the other ; but the truth is, that when stripped of its reference to the Hebrew language, and translated into plain English, it is not easy to overlook its absurdity.

If in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or any other language, a passage could be produced, either in a symbolical prophecy or any where else, (I say nothing of *ordinary* use—for that is really too much) in which a definite number of *years* has been expressed by the word *days*, it will be to the purpose.

As to what Mr. Gibert has said, I do not see that any reply is necessary; for at the utmost it can only go to shew that a *year* may mean a *day*—but as I have not yet seen it, and in fact do not well understand where to look for it, I know not how far even that is proved.

The author adds—

“The Jews *unanimously* have considered the days of
“Daniel to be symbolical of years, and in order not to
“weary you with quotations, you may consult at your
“leisure the Talmud, Treatise of Sanhedrim, ch. xi.
“p. 97.”

This is a most amazing assertion. As I cannot find any thing on the subject in the corresponding part of the Mishna, I presume that the reference is intended to apply to the Gemara, which I have not the opportunity of consulting. I wish that the passage had been given; for surely, however familiar the author himself may be with the Gemaras, he must have known that they were inaccessible, or unintelligible, to nine tenths of his readers; and that to tell them to “consult the Talmud, at their leisure,” was

little more than a mockery. What the passage referred to may contain, I know not; but I must flatly contradict the assertion that “the
“Jews unanimously have considered the days
“of Daniel to be symbolical of years.”

I am as unwilling as the author of the Dialogues to tire my readers with quotations; but yet I shall beg leave to offer the testimony of two Jews, who are pretty good authorities in such a case.

The first is that of JOSEPHUS. That he understood the times of Daniel to mean literal years, is evident from his application of the prophecy to the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. He says, “this desolation happened to the Temple in the 145th
“year, on the 25th day of the month Apelleus,
“and on the 153d Olympiad; but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the 25th of the
“month Apelleus, on the 148th year, and on
“the 154th Olympiad. And this desolation
“came to pass according to the prophecy of
“Daniel, &c.”^s He also distinctly applies the prophecy of the 1290 days to Antiochus Epiphanes.^t

The second is that of ABEN EZRA, who quotes SAADIAS GAON. Speaking of the pro-

^s Antiq. B. xii. c. 7. § 6. Whiston's Trans.

^t Antiq. B. x. c. xi. § 7.

phecy of the seventy weeks, he says, “Dixit
 “honorabilis magister noster Saadiah, quod
 “istæ septimanæ sunt annorum. Testimonium
 “autem hujus rei est illud quod Daniel dicit
 “post hæc Dan. x. 2, &c. ‘Ego Daniel fui
 “lucens tribus hebdomadibus *dierum*, panem
 “desiderabilem non comedi, &c. usque ad com-
 “plementum trium hebdomadarum *dierum* ;’ et
 “non memoravit cum septuaginta hebdomadi-
 “bus, *dies*. Recte autem exponit et bene. —
 “— — — *Et scito, quod dies semper sunt*
 “*dies et nunquam anni in sacra scriptura* ; verum
 “possibile est si dixerit *dies*, quod sit annus
 “perfectus, redeunte anno in iteratione *dierum*,
 “ut cum dicitur Ex. xiii. 10, a die diando
 “*מִימִם יְמִימָה* id est ab anno in annum ; qui sunt
 “annus perfectus. Cum vero dicitur *cum nu-*
 “*mero*, duo dies, tres dies, *non possunt* esse
 “anni ; sed oportet quod sint dies sicut sunt :
 “et propter hoc dicitur Lev. xxv. 8, *שְׁבַת שָׁנִים*
 “*שִׁבְעַ* ‘Et numerabis tibi septem hebdomadas
 “annorum, &c.” Aben Ezra, ap. Ray. Martini
 Pug. Fid. Part iii. c. xvi. p. 867.

REMARKS

ON A

REVIEW IN THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER,

FOR JUNE, 1828. VOL. xxviii. p. 396.

The writer of this article has said but little in support of the arguments which I opposed, or in answer to those which I urged ; but seems to rely principally on reserved forces, which he thinks have not yet been brought into the field in an effective manner. I shall not, however, wait for their attack, without attempting to reconnoitre these divisions on their march ; and if I cannot intercept and cut them off on the way, yet perhaps even the knowledge that they are watched may lead to their coming up in a more disciplined and orderly manner than such troops sometimes do ; and may prevent their relying on any of those tricks, by which an unsuspected and unknown enemy may sometimes throw a camp into confusion.

“ There are,” says the Reviewer, “ some classes of argument on the subject which have hitherto been very inadequately noticed, but which strongly convince

“ us that the period is years, and not literal days ;
 “ such as the analogies arising from the general figura-
 “ tive and mysterious style of Daniel and the Apoca-
 “ lypse in *other* matters, and which may therefore well
 “ be concluded to apply also to the calculations of time ;
 “ the figurative dress of this very expression of time
 “ itself, such as ‘ time, times, and dividing of time ;’
 “ and what seems to us a very powerful argument, the
 “ usages of chronical calculation in all nations, among
 “ none of whom, we believe, are large masses of time
 “ expressed in small fractional parts. It would be
 “ quite unusual to speak of a literal three years and a
 “ half as 1260 days ; and if it is replied, that we must
 “ be prepared to expect an unusual mode of speaking
 “ under all the circumstances of the case, we wish only
 “ to go one step further, which will lead to the prophe-
 “ tic substitution of days for years ; and in truth,
 “ throughout scripture, we often find words thus used
 “ in a large sense, the specific mensuration of which
 “ must be adjusted by the scope of the passage.”

With regard to the first class of arguments mentioned by the Reviewer, viz. “ *the analogies arising from the general figurative and mysterious style of Daniel and the Apocalypse in other mat- ters,*” I admit that it has been very “ inade- quately noticed ” by those who have main- tained the *literal* interpretation ; and I will endeavour to supply the deficiency ; but surely great use has been made of this argument by those who hold the *figurative* exposition, and I believe that it has been the chief support of their system. If, indeed, the Reviewer means

that this argument has not been propounded formally, and argued logically in detail, I believe that is true; but so used it would have been of infinitely less service. The way to make the most of it is to speak vaguely of “the *general* figurative and mysterious style of “Daniel and the Apocalypse;” and, when any startling interpretation is challenged, to reply—“Really the *general* style of Daniel and the “Apocalypse is so figurative and mysterious, “that you must not be surprised though the “interpretation should be very strange—you “cannot be allowed to object to it on the “ground that the prophet does *not* seem to say “this, or *does* seem to say something else—at “all events, while the *general style is so figura- “tive and mysterious*, how can you doubt that “this may be mystical also; and ought you not “to be prepared to meet with something in the “solution of a mystery which should surprise “you?—can you prove that my interpretation “is wrong?”

Thus an interpreter may always reduce his opponent to the proof of a negative, after having cut off all appeal to common understanding. His advantage is obvious; but in order to maintain it he must keep to vague statements. His champion must keep around him the mist in which he enters the field; and thus magnified and indefinite, he may create so much alarm as

to prevent a discovery of the important fact that he is little more than a scare-crow. I confess that I was long deterred by a confused idea, gathered from such vague statements, from trying how far the rules of common sense and common understanding applied to the *language* of these books. When, however, I did make the attempt, I was fully convinced that, whatever difficulties might exist in Daniel and the Apocalypse, they had been ascribed to a wrong source. That though the books themselves were “mysterious and figurative,” yet they were not “mysterious” because the language was “figurative,” and that strictly speaking their “style” was neither mysterious nor figurative in any extraordinary degree.

Here, I apprehend, lies the ambiguity which has given currency to the argument, if it deserve that name—if by *style* we mean what may perhaps be called the *construction* of these revelations, or the *mode* by which certain things were revealed to the prophet or the apostle, or the *plan* which God was pleased to adopt for the purpose of revelation; that I grant was both mysterious and figurative; because it consisted, for the most part, of symbols addressed to the senses, having a mystical meaning which was not apparent to him who saw them, and was only partially explained to him—but, if by *style* we are to understand what we generally do when

we speak of a book, the mode in which a writer makes use of words to express the ideas which he wishes to convey, then I venture to say that the “style” of Daniel and St. John is *not* remarkably mysterious or figurative; and in fact that the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse together, contain not half so much figurative language as any one of the four Gospels.

But this question appears to deserve a more particular discussion, for it is one that certainly has been hitherto very “inadequately noticed;” and the vague idea of mystery which exists forms a last resort and strong hold of fanciful interpreters. Indeed, when once a commentator condescends to get within these rules he is not to be taken.

I apprehend that the prophetic portion of the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse consists of three parts, very easily distinguishable from each other, viz.—

I. *Descriptions* of symbols.

II. *Explanations* of symbols.

III. Prophecies delivered *without* symbolical representation.

I. The first class of passages in Daniel consists of—

The description of the Image. Ch. ii. 31—35.

The description of the second vision of Nebuchadnezzar,
under the symbol of a tree. Ch. iv.
10—17.

———— of the four beasts. Ch. vii. 2—14, 19—22.

———— of the vision of the Ram and He-Goat.
Ch. viii. 3—12.

Now in all these passages I am not aware that there is any thing that can be called a figurative expression, except that a *horn* is said to be plucked up by the *roots*.

Much the same may be said of the *descriptive* part of the Apocalypse; but it is not necessary to specify all the *descriptions*, for my present business is with the *explanatory* part.

II. I proceed to the *explanatory* parts of these books, which are as follows:—

1. Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream, ch. ii. 36—45. I do not know of any thing which can be called a figurative expression, except that Daniel, in his explanation, so far adopts the language of the symbol, as to speak of *breaking kingdoms* in pieces. V. 41.
2. Daniel's interpretation of the King's second dream, ch. iv. 24—25; and I believe it contains no figurative expression.
3. The general explanation which Daniel received respecting the four beasts, vii. 17, 18; of which the same may be said.
4. The more particular explanation given to him in the same chapter (v. 23—27).

It is here that the phrase, "time, times, and dividing of time," occurs. Putting this aside, as the point in

dispute, and also the common interpretation of ten *Kings* by ten *Kingdoms*, which I believe to be incorrect, and have elsewhere disputed, I believe that this explanation contains nothing figurative; except that here, as in the first passage, the language of the symbols is so far adopted, as that we read of a *Kingdom* as *devouring* the whole earth, in v. 23, and of the same Kingdom being *consumed*, in v. 26. Whether the question of the Saint, and the answer, ch. viii. 13, 14, should be put in this class, or the next, I am not certain; at any rate, the only expression in it, on which a question can be raised, is the “2300 days,” which, of course, must be set aside in the present enquiry.

5. The explanation of the vision of the Ram and He-Goat, ch. viii. 19—26; which contains, I think, nothing figurative, unless it be the command to “shut up” the vision.

These are, I believe, all the professedly *explanatory* passages in the book of Daniel. There are five also in the Apocalypse.

1. Ch. i. 20. The explanation that the seven *stars* were seven *angels*, and the seven *candlesticks* seven *churches*. Whether the word *angels* is in this place figurative, the reader must decide for himself.
2. Ch. v. 6; where it is said that the seven horns and eyes of the Lamb are the *seven spirits* of God. On this too the reader will form his own opinion.
3. Ch. vii. 14. The explanation respecting the white-robed multitude. They are said to have “washed” their robes and made them white in the blood of the “Lamb.” This is certainly a figurative expression; but one which, I believe, has not been considered as obscure.

4. Ch. xiv. 4, 5. The explanation respecting the 144,000 virgin followers of the Lamb. How far this is figurative I know not.
5. Ch. xvii. 7—18. The mystery of the woman, and the beast that carried her, is explained by the angel. If the seven *Kings* are *Kingdoms*, (which I very much doubt,) the word *King* is used figuratively: if not, I believe the passage contains no figurative expression, except that of “eating the flesh” of the woman, a phrase evidently adopted from the symbol of her destroyer—the wild beast of the vision.

I am not aware that the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse contain any other passages which are *professedly explanatory*, and how far these are rendered obscure by a “mysterious and figurative style,” I wish the reader to consider. He will remember that it is in one of these *professedly explanatory* parts that the contested passage of Daniel occurs.

III. Of the third class, or prophecies delivered *without* symbolical representation, it is not necessary to speak in detail; and to do so would only lead us from our subject. I apprehend that, if the reader takes the pains to search them out, he will find very little that can be called *figurative* language which is not very plain and obvious. Let him take, for instance, the xi. and xii. chapters of Daniel. They contain, indeed, such figurative expressions as, *breaking* and *plucking up* a kingdom (v. 4), a

branch of her *roots* (v. 8), sons *stirred up* and one *overflowing* (v. 10), land *consumed* (v. 16), the arms of a *flood overflowing* (v. 22), the *fattest* places of the provinces (v. 24), &c. Who will venture to insinuate that the great (and, I believe, hitherto unexplained) mysteries of these chapters arise from the use of such common and obvious figures, or from any *peculiar, mystical, or unwonted* use of words?

I am fully aware that it is difficult to express myself in opposition to current opinions without being misunderstood by those who do not mean to misrepresent, and being misrepresented by those who have not taken as much trouble to understand a point in dispute as one christian should do before he falls foul of another. One of my reviewers has represented me as denying the fulfilment of any prophecy unless it can be shewn precisely when, and where, and how, it was fulfilled. Such a charge requires no answer while the pamphlet exists to vindicate itself; but it has led me to think that some critic may charge me with having paradoxically put forth that the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse contain no figures, no symbols, no mysteries—all is literal and I understand it all. Be it so—the reader of common sense will see that I say no such thing—that I do in no degree deny the existence of mystery, but only maintain that it does not arise from a source to

which, in vague terms, it is very commonly ascribed—and affirm that whatever the mystery may be, it gives no colour for interpreting *days* to mean *years*, because it does not arise from, or consist in, any peculiar or *mystical use of words*.

As I am anxious, however, to be clearly understood, let me repeat, that the *things described* by Daniel and St. John were *figurative*; but that the *language of the description* is not so. Daniel saw a beast like a *Lion*—that *Lion* was figurative as afterwards appears; but there is nothing mystical or figurative in saying, “I saw “a beast like a *Lion*.” That beast, though otherwise like a *Lion*, had *Eagle’s wings*; this is a physical anomaly that might puzzle us if we saw the symbol, and which adds to the difficulty of explaining it; but the *words* are *plain*; and I believe no commentator understands that the words “eagle’s wings” mean any thing but what they import *literally*, though the wings which they describe were symbolical. Again, when St. John states that on the sounding of one of the *Angels* a star fell from heaven, that star might be figurative, its falling might be figurative, the heaven from which it fell, and the earth to which it fell, might be figurative also, and the symbol may be mysterious from our receiving only so general and imperfect a description or explanation, as not to be able to

decide with certainty what the things prefigured are; but there is no use of figurative language—no mystery of words, in saying, “the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven.” Every word is used in its common and obvious sense; and there is no mystical or figurative use of terms, as there was when our Lord said, “I am the *vine*”—“the good *shepherd*”—“the *door*”—“the *bread* of life”—“the *light* of the world”—as when St. Paul called Timothy his “*son*”—when St. James spoke of the tongue being “*set on fire*”—and St. Peter of a “*day star*” arising in the heart.

This *is* figurative language, and it abounds in the scriptures; but from such language, and from the unwonted and mystical use of words, I venture to say that the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse are peculiarly free. Yet, that they do contain it to such an extent as might reasonably lead us to expect that *any given word* is not to be taken in its *obvious sense*, is what has been insinuated, and what must be proved, if the argument is to be fairly brought into the field, in support of the mystical interpretation of *days* for *years*, *months* for periods of 30 *years*, and *years* for periods of 360 *years*. I venture to deny that *there are* analogies arising from the style of Daniel and the Apocalypse which will warrant such an interpretation.

The second argument, which the Reviewer

thinks has been inadequately noticed, is that which arises from “*the figurative dress of this very expression of time itself; such as time, times, and dividing of time.*”

In what sense the expression can be said to be *figurative*, I do not see: but I readily grant that, taken by itself, it might be, in some degree, indefinite. It occurs twice in Daniel (ch. vii. 25, and ch. xii. 7); but the words which our translators have rendered by “time,” whatever affinity may exist between them, are not the same in those two passages.

In ch. vii. 25, the Chaldee word עֶרָךְ is used. It is found, I believe, no where but in the book of Daniel. On some occasions that writer uses it for *time* indefinitely; but it is generally admitted that he does not do so in the passage under consideration. There is another occasion (and, I believe, only one) in which he uses it to express a *definite* period, chap. iv. 16, 23, 25, 32; and there it is not doubted that the period intended is a year. Surely, if we are at a loss to know what definite period is meant in one place, we might expect to learn by referring to another passage in which a definite period is also clearly meant; and where the length of that period is not doubted. That this would be the course adopted by a reader who had no system to support, admits, I think, of no doubt; unless, indeed, he had been so impressed by vague

statements of the figurative and mysterious style of the prophet, as to have laid aside all common modes of proceeding.

The word used in ch. xii. 7, and also rendered "time" by our translators, is one much more common, and less indefinite. מועד, according to Buxtorf, signifies "*Tempus statutum, vel constitutum, aut condictum.*" When it is used for "time," I believe it always means, a *set* or *appointed*, or, perhaps, more strictly, a *measured* time; and this, generally, a period measured by the heavenly bodies, which were originally appointed to be "for signs and for *seasons*," (למועדים) and for days and for years," Gen. i. 14. Hence, I suppose, it came to be applied to the Jewish festivals; and particularly to those which were *annual*. Thus, when the Jewish festivals are spoken of, we find "the sabbath, "the new moons, the *set feasts*," מועדים I. Chron. xxiii. 31, II. Chron. ii. 4, (Heb. 3,) Isaiah i. 13, 14. In one place (Lev. xxiii. 2, 3, 34, 37,) it seems to be used for the feasts generally, so as to include the sabbath; but more commonly we find it distinguishing the *annual* feasts; and in some places with direct reference to them only. Thus, Ezekiel (xxxvi. 38) speaks of "the flock "of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts," במועדיה; and in II. Chron. viii. 13, we read "on the "sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the "*solemn feasts* (ולמועדוֹת), three times in the

“ year, even in the feast (בַּחֹג) of unleavened bread, and in the feast (בַּחֹג) of weeks, and in the feast (בַּחֹג) of tabernacles.”

Kircher (Concordance in v. עֲרֵד, כְּמֵעַד) says, “ Generaliter pro re aliqua certa, attestata, et definita accipitur. Et primum, pro tempore certo et constituto. Deinde pro festo seu solemnitatem, quæ certo et stato tempore celebratur.” Thus the seventy have generally (I believe 57 times out of 69) translated it by *καιρος* or *εορτη*, and never by *χρονος*.

For these reasons I think we might naturally conclude that Daniel meant, by the word which we translate indefinitely “ time,” a certain defined period; and perhaps we should be led from the common usage of the word, to suppose that he meant an *annual* period, in this place; and had a reference to, or might be said to calculate by, the periods of the solemn annual feasts, as he seems to have calculated by the sabbatical years in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, and by the daily sacrifices in the prophecy of the 2300 mornings and evenings.

Let us suppose, however, that the period, as stated by Daniel, was originally obscure, and

“ *Καιρος*. 1. *Tempus, idque opportunum et conveniens, quo aliquid fieri solet et debet, opportunitas temporis, et ita differt proprie a χρονος quod tempus quodvis significat.* 2. *Tempus certum statutum et definitum.*” Schleusner in v. *Καιρος*.

remained so until the New Testament; surely that contains enough to clear up the mystery. In Rev. xii. 14, the word *καιρος* is used and translated "time, and times, and half a time;" but in Rev. xi. 2, and xiii. 5, the period is stated (in very definite and intelligible words, which cannot be shewn, I believe, to have any where else an indefinite, figurative, or mystical meaning) to be "forty and two *months*;" and, in Rev. xi. 3, it is said to be "a thousand, two hundred "and threescore *days*,"^x Surely if the prophecy was obscure when it was first delivered, the obscurity, so far as regards the period in question, must have been removed by these plain declarations, or else it is difficult to imagine that it is in the power of language to remove it. If indeed, among many terms, any writer chooses to select *that one* which is *indefinite*, to call it *figurative*, to argue that therefore it is *mystical*, and to build his argument upon its individual obscurity, while he rejects the plain parallel passages which explain it, he may keep up an appearance of mystery, and maintain a system, but surely he is not in the way to elicit truth.

^x "Tempus quippe, et tempora, et dimidium temporis, "annum unum esse, et duos, et dimidium : ac per hoc tres "annos et semissem etiam *numero dierum posterius posito* "dilucescit, aliquando in Scripturis et mensium numero declaratur." Aug. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XX. c. xxiii.

The third argument which the Reviewer mentions appears to him to be a “very powerful” one. It is this—“The usages of chronical calculation in all nations, among none of whom, we believe, are large masses of time expressed in small fractional parts. It would be quite unusual to speak of a literal three years and a half as 1260 days; and if it is replied, that we must be prepared to expect an unusual mode of speaking under all the circumstances of the case, we wish only to go one step further, which will lead to the prophetic substitution of days for years.”

I must frankly say, that this, which appears to the Reviewer to be a “*very powerful* argument,” appears to me to be no argument at all; and, that it has been “inadequately noticed,” if ever it has been thought of by any but himself, I am not prepared to admit. It seems to me to amount to this—“Here is a period which *prima facie* appears to consist of *three years and a half*, mentioned in terms of *days*; it is a very strange thing—contrary to all usages of chronical calculation in all nations.” Well, suppose that, for the sake of argument, we grant that the thing is most strange and unheard of, what does the Reviewer propose? Any doubt of the genuineness of the text? Not the least. Any thing more common, more usual? No such thing. With ad-

mirable coolness he proposes to go “a step farther.” Having been brought so far out of the common way by force, he seems to think it quite unreasonable to grudge him “one step farther,” (a long one I think,) for which (as far as this argument is concerned) he assigns no reason, but that he “wishes” to take it.

Let the matter be as contrary as it may to “the usages of chronical calculation,” surely the case is not mended by supposing the days to be years. If it would be strange to find three years and a half spoken of as 1260 days, surely it would be stranger still, and more contrary to all known “usages of chronical calculation,” to speak of 1260 *years* as 1260 *days*, or *forty-two months*, or *three times and a half*. How long a step the Reviewer may wish to take I really know not; but it must carry him to some point not obvious, I think, to most readers, if it “*leads*” to the substitution which he maintains. Whatever difficulty there may be in the text, I cannot see that it contains any indication that we are to relieve ourselves from that difficulty by such an interpretation.

We may generally either find or make a mystery in plain words, if we desire it; but really it does not seem to me so very wonderful that a period of such importance should be stated in various terms of years, months, and days; and when I find such “masses of time” as 150

days,^y and 180 days,^z I do not feel incredulous that *days* may be *days*, though the number be 1260.

The Reviewer adds, “and in truth *through-
out* scripture we *often* find words thus used in
“ a *large sense*, the specific mensuration of which
“ must be adjusted by the scope of the pas-
“ sage.” To this I am not prepared to reply,
because I really know not what the Reviewer
means. I do not think “we often find words
“ thus used,” and if he has found such, I wish
he had specified them. I submit to his own
judgment whether (on grounds wholly distinct
from the present argument) such assertions
should be made in broad and general terms,
without any limitation, explanation, or any
specific reference to examples.

There is another passage in this Review which
I wish to notice, because it seems to be calcu-
lated to convey a very erroneous impression.
After having spoken of Mr. Irving’s suggestion,
in his Preface to the work of Lacunza, that the
days may be both figurative and literal, an
idea which Mr. Irving seems to have been led
to form by the “strong case” which Lacunza
had made out for the literal interpretation, the
Reviewer adds—

“ If Mr. Irving had not since advanced many still more

^y Gen. vii. 24.

^z Esth. i. 4.

“startling propositions, we might be induced to dwell
“for a moment upon this; but if we once begin with
“this gifted, but erratic, author’s peculiarities, where
“must we end? We therefore decline all comment;
“our only object in adducing the reference being to
“shew that Mr. Maitland, in *his* ‘strong case,’ does
“not stand alone; though he probably little expected
“to find an ally in Mr. Irving’s Spanish friend, and
“still less, to the above extent, a partial one even in
“Mr. Irving himself.” P. 400.

I am unwilling to imagine that the Reviewer intended to impose on the simplicity of his readers, or meant, by dishonest artifice, to discredit the doctrine, as one held by an obscure individual *almost* “alone,” and who would catch at such allies as Mr. Irving and Lacunza. But if he was honest, and I do believe he was, by what course of reading has he prepared himself for the censorship which he exercises? Certainly I had no suspicion that I should “stand
“alone,” while I was defending what I believe to have been the doctrine of the whole Christian church for more than twelve centuries; and, strange as it may seem to the Reviewer, I certainly did expect “Mr. Irving’s Spanish friend” to hold the doctrine, which has been maintained, as far as I know, by every writer of his church (except Pastorini) from the time of St. Peter to the present hour. Nor indeed should I have felt that I stood quite alone in disputing an opinion which had already been denied by at

least twenty protestant writers.^a There are those who conceive that whatever is new to them is absolutely new; and they are now most powerful opponents; because I am quite confident that we may do more towards preventing the fair discussion of a doctrine, by representing it as a “new conceit” of an obscure person, than by shewing that it actually involves a dangerous heresy. I have already said, and I can say sincerely, that I do not charge the Reviewer with any such base purpose; and this I do because, from other parts of his article, he appears to be in real ignorance of the history of the controversy. While I feel it a duty to expose this ignorance, I do it without any personal feeling of ill-will, for I have not the slightest idea who the writer of the article may be; and certainly, as far as regards myself and my pamphlet, he has spoken very civilly. He adds, however, p. 400—

“ We should not, indeed, be much surprised if some of
“ those interpreters who are exploding all notion of the
“ figurative and spiritual meaning of scripture, as re-
“ lates to the restoration of the Jews, the millennial
“ reign of Christ, and other kindred points,—who see
“ in the new heavens and the new earth, literally only
“ the present earth newly modified, and who can find
“ nothing in scripture of what we old-fashioned Chris-
“ tians call ‘heaven,’—should in the end take up the

^a See before, p. 37.

“ literal interpretation of the 1260 days, and eventually
“ set aside, not only the old-established landmarks,
“ but even much that has of later years been so confi-
“ dently asserted respecting Buonaparte, the French
“ Revolution, the late war, the immediate coming of
“ Christ, and many other modern applications of pro-
“ phecy.”

Now, except so far as regards what really are
“ the old-established landmarks,” and his class-
ing the doctrine of the immediate coming of
Christ among “ *modern* applications of prophe-
“ cy,”^b I perfectly agree with the Reviewer.
As to the removal of old-established landmarks,
the charge lies not, I think, against the party
to whom he alludes, so far as respects the doc-
trines which he notices ; for I believe that, *on*
those points, very few of them have put forth
opinions which cannot be shewn to have been
generally held in the Christian church at an
earlier period than the contrary opinions ; but,
at all events, it lies not against those who op-
pose the doctrine of the 1260 years, which I
think cannot be shewn to have existed until
those who separated from the church of Rome
were determined to prove the Pope to be Anti-
christ, and made up this mystical interpretation
to meet the exigency of the case. But I must

^b I presume that the Reviewer does not mean to insinuate
that the primitive church did not expect the “ immediate
“ coming of Christ.”

go farther than the Reviewer. I not only “should not wonder” if these writers should “take up” this interpretation of the 1260 days, but I fully expect that they will do it; and am truly surprised that they have not done it already. It is obvious that I must disagree with them on many points; but there is perhaps scarcely one among them whom I have not to thank for teaching me something which I did not know before; and I do really anticipate that some of them at least will, one of these days, thank me for pointing out what is perhaps the only *material* error respecting the points here referred to, which they will have to confess. In the mean time I wish just to suggest to them, that, while they are, in most of the cases alluded to, restoring the “old-established landmarks,” they are, *in this case*, maintaining “a modern application of prophecy,” which by no means accords with their general (and, I believe, just) system of literal interpretation.

REMARKS

ON A

REVIEW IN THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER,

FOR DECEMBER, 1826.

There is one point in this review which appears to require some notice, because it would seem to imply, that in my first Enquiry I had evaded the difficulty of my subject, and only imperfectly stated the arguments of those whom I opposed.

The Reviewer says —

“ We profess to hold a large portion of Mr. Faber’s
“ writings in high estimation, and we should be ex-
“ tremely concerned to detract from his well-merited
“ reputation. We think, however, it is saying too
“ much to affirm that the specified dissertation puts
“ the reader ‘ in full possession of the subject;’ and
“ are particularly surprised at his adding, that it con-
“ tains ‘ all the arguments’ he recollects to have seen
“ in favour of the contested mode of interpretation,
“ when, in p. 51, he mentions five other writers, even
“ styled by himself ‘ eminent writers,’ one of whom,
“ Mr. Holmes, has supported it by a chain of argu-

“mentation, which appears to us entirely new, and to
“which we are sorry, therefore, that we can only re-
“fer, as it is too long for quotation, and would be
“materially weakened by abridgement. See his Ful-
“filment of the Revelation of St. John displayed,
“p. 205.”

Any reader who will take the trouble to turn to the 51st page of my former Enquiry will see that I never called Mr. Holmes an “eminent writer;” but that I merely quoted a passage from Mr. Gauntlett, in which he bestows that epithet on five commentators. Surely no careful and candid reader would consider such a quotation as involving a profession that I knew any thing of the writers specified, or meant to give any opinion on their merits. In fact, I had never seen Mr. Holmes’s work; and did not suppose, nor do I now believe, that it had acquired such a circulation and authority in England (whatever may be the case in Ireland) as would have warranted my classing it with the works of Mr. Faber, Mr. Frere, and Mr. Cunninghame; and I must still affirm that, as far as I can see, the extracts from Mr. Faber’s work do put the reader in “full possession of the subject,” (that subject being the simple question of whether days are natural days or years;) and that they do contain all the arguments which I had seen in favour of the contested mode of interpretation.

When, however, I heard of a new "chain of argumentation," I was really curious to see it; and felt that it would be my duty to examine it impartially. I therefore procured Mr. Holmes's work, which had never before fallen in my way; but, on turning to the page referred to by the Reviewer, I could find nothing at all to the purpose; and it seemed evident that he must have quoted from a different edition, (if there is more than one,) or else that there must be an error in the reference. I can honestly say, that I took a good deal of trouble in looking, and could only find the following passage on the point in question. Whether it is that to which the Reviewer meant to refer I really do not know; but I suppose it is not, as it is quite short enough to have been quoted in the review. I shall, however, lay it before the reader; premising that without intending to give any opinion as to its originality, I am much mistaken if it is argument.

" A Day.—No period accurately resembles a day but a
" year. The daily revolution of the earth round its
" axis, resembles its yearly revolution in its orbit round
" the sun; the great divisions of day and night re-
" semble the summer and winter, the two great di-
" visions of the year: and the four quarters of a day,
" continually melting into and succeeding each other,
" of morning, forenoon, afternoon, and evening, re-
" semble the four quarters of the year, spring, summer,

“ autumn, and winter. ON THESE ACCOUNTS, a day,
“ in prophetic language, signifies a year.” Vol. I.
p. 26.

I do not know that this review contains any
thing else to which an answer may not be found
in some part or other of this Enquiry.

REMARKS

ON A

REVIEW IN THE CHRISTIAN GUARDIAN,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1827.

When I was preparing this second Enquiry, (which has been delayed by unexpected circumstances much longer than I anticipated,) I was desirous to correct what might be erroneous, and to supply what was defective, in the first. Some remarks in the Christian Guardian led me to address the following letter to the Editor:—

“ SIR,

“ When you did me the favour to notice a pamphlet
“ which I lately published, containing an enquiry into the
“ grounds on which the prophetic period of Daniel and St.
“ John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years, your
“ Reviewer observed—‘ He disposes of the arguments in
“ favour of this interpretation with considerable ingenuity,
“ but has not brought forward any *evidence of its being*
“ *erroneous.*’

“ I trust you will not think me insensible of the civility
“ with which you have treated me, or inclined to cavil at

“ words, if I take the liberty, through you, to request of
“ the Reviewer some idea of the nature of the evidence
“ which might have been expected from me. It seems to
“ me, that where the question is simply, whether certain
“ words are to be taken literally, the whole burthen of
“ proof lies upon those who depart from the literal interpretation; and that the literal interpretation is fully established by simply *disposing of the arguments* in favour of
“ any other.

“ I am not writing with a view to controvert the statement of your Reviewer, or I should venture to suggest
“ that some points which I noticed, such as the great and
“ fundamental differences of expositors—the ignorance
“ openly avowed by the church in general, as to *how*, and
“ even *whether*, these prophecies have been fulfilled—the
“ absence of appeal in controversy to *these fulfilments* of
“ prophecy, as grounds of Christian faith, are evidence that
“ the system is erroneous. But my object in troubling you
“ at this time is not to vindicate myself, but simply to obtain information. I am engaged in preparing a second
“ Enquiry, and it is my wish to notice in it whatever objections have been made to the first; and, as far as in me
“ lies, to supply such deficiencies as have been pointed out.
“ I feel it therefore a duty to apply to whatever quarter
“ may afford any hope of assistance; and I should be unwilling to appear again before the public, unless I could
“ shew that I had used due diligence to obtain information.”
“ 7th Feb. 1828.”

Having received no farther answer to this letter, than an assurance from the Editor that it had been transmitted to the Reviewer, I know not what evidence was expected or would be admitted; but, even under this disadvan-

tage, I will set down what I consider as positive evidence against the system of the 1260 years in general; though, as I have before said, I think that after an admission that I have “disposed of the arguments in favour of the “interpretation,” it is almost needless to bring forward direct arguments against it. I am, however, anxious to meet every objection; and I had rather be guilty of some degree of repetition than subject myself to the appearance of tacit evasion. I shall therefore very briefly state what I believe to be positive arguments against the system of the 1260 years; and if it should appear that most of them might be collected from various parts of these Enquiries, yet, perhaps, some advantage will arise from a succinct statement of them in a collective form. I shall not pretend to say that they “*prove*” the system to be erroneous; because, though I am sensible that big words have a great effect upon careless readers, yet I have generally found that those who use them are, in the long run, obliged to undergo a process of qualification, which, however ingeniously they may manage it, does neither them nor their system any credit; while it is unspeakably injurious to the cause of truth. I say nothing, then, about *proofs*, but will merely state the arguments which appear to me to shew that the system is erroneous.

I. I think it is wrong, in these passages, to translate “*days*” by “*years*,” “*months*” by thirties of years, and “*times*” by periods of 360 years, because, as far as I can find, it would be wrong to do so any where else. I can find no place where the word *day* stands for *year*; and I believe it has not been attempted to make it do so in any other prophecy, or writing, except by some commentators on the ten days in the second chapter of the Apocalypse, of which I have spoken elsewhere; and by some who make our Lord’s declaration, that he should himself be three days, and three nights, in the heart of the earth, refer to his ministry in Judea, of whom, perhaps, it is not necessary to speak at all. If it would be wrong every where else, I presume it would be wrong here, unless special reasons can be assigned. Why is a word to be mystical *here* that is not so elsewhere? and why are we to suppose a mode of stating a space of time which we confess is never adopted elsewhere? To borrow words from Mr. Faber, “I cannot but “think that such a mode of exposition as this “accords very ill with the *definite simplicity* for “which the prophecies of Daniel are so remarkable.”^c I agree with him in thinking, that “the only manner in which prophecy can

^c Vol. I. 366.

“ be *satisfactorily* explained is by strictly adhering to its plain, unvarnished, declarations.”^d An interpretation which requires such a deviation from the obvious and literal meaning of plain words, must be supported by particular arguments, and rests on their strength; to dispose of them is to settle the question.

II. Familiarly as even the most superficial readers have now learned to talk of the “ prophetic style” of a “ day for a year,” I believe that any such interpretation of the prophetic period of Daniel (or of any other period) was altogether unknown by the Jewish church before the Christian æra—by the Apostles of our Lord—by the primitive church—by the Fathers—in short, that no man ever thought of interpreting the days mystically, or that any period of 1260 years was marked out, during (to say the very least) the first twelve centuries of Christianity. I know that this proud age looks with pity or contempt on all that have preceded it; and such a reference to the unvarying interpretation of the Christian Church may only provoke a smile.^e Still, notwithstanding the march of intellect, I cannot help thinking that

^d Vol. I. 372.

^e Scaliger said, “ Quidquid ante quadraginta annos scriptum est in Apocalypsim, tout cela ne vaut rien.” Scaligerana, 2da, p. 15.

there were *some* among the various classes which I have specified, who understood the prophetic style quite as well as we do. They, however, (as far as I know, universally) expected an individual Antichrist, who should persecute the saints, *as* saints, during a period of three years and a half; and I believe that opinion would never have been departed from, if some of the Reformers, with more zeal than knowledge, had not determined that the Pope *must* be Antichrist; and as the Pope did not suit the terms of the prophecy, they resolved that the terms of the prophecy should be so interpreted as to suit the Pope.^f

^f I have not seen the mystical interpretation of the days in the works of any writer before the time of Walter Brute, who says, in his declaration given in to the Bishop of Hereford, about A.D. 1390—"The abomination, that is the "idol, of desolation was placed of Adrian, in the last "destruction in Jerusalem, in the holy place, that is to say, "in a place of the Temple. And from that time hitherto "have passed near about 1290 days, taking a day for a "year, as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewise. For Daniel, speaking of 62 weeks, doth "not speak of the weeks of days, but of years. So, therefore, when he saith, from the time that the continual "sacrifice was taken away, &c. 1290 days must be taken "for so many years, from the time of the desolation of "Jerusalem, even unto the revealing of Antichrist; and "not for three years and a half, which they say Antichrist "shall reign. And again, whereas Daniel said, 'how long "till the end of these marvellous matters?' It was an-

III. I have already mentioned the great and striking difference of opinion which exists

“swered him, ‘for a time, and times, and half a time.’
 “Behold also how unfitly they did assign this time by three
 “years and a half, which they say Antichrist shall reign.
 “For when as it is said, a time, times, and half a time,
 “there is a going downward from the greater to the less;
 “from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to
 “half a time. If, therefore, there be a going downward
 “from the whole to the part, by the middest (which is
 “greater than the whole itself) the going downward is not
 “meet nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is said
 “that a time, times, and half a time, is a year, two years,
 “and half a year. Wherefore more fitly it is said that a
 “time, times, and half a time doth signify 1290 years, as is
 “said in the chapter preceding.” The passage referred to
 is one in which the author is endeavouring to shew, that by
 the seclusion of the woman in the wilderness was prefigured
 the maintenance of Christianity in England, which he con-
 sidered as having been then maintained for about 1260
 years. He says—“In saying for a time, times, and half a
 “time, there is a going forward from the greater to the less.
 “The greater time that we name is 1000 years, there is a
 “time; and the next time that is less in the singular num-
 “ber is 100 year. In the plural number, times signify that
 “there be more hundreds than one, at least 200 years.
 “Wherefore, if they be put under a certain number, it must
 “needs be that they be two, but the same cannot fitly be
 “called some times, except they be hundreds. For in that
 “there is a going down from the greater to the less, when
 “as it is said, ‘a time, times, and half a time,’ and that
 “the number of 1000 is likely assigned for a time: it must
 “needs follow that times must be taken for hundreds, and
 “half a time for 60, because it is the greater half of a hun-

among those who maintain the system of the 1260 years; and I have met with a fresh instance of it since the former Enquiry was printed.

One of my Reviewers seems to think that I have done less than justice in saying so much of Mr. Faber, and so little of Mr. Holmes.^s The simple fact is, that I was not acquainted with Mr. Holmes's work, or at all aware that he was considered as one of the leading writers on the subject. If, however, he is, let us see how far he agrees with the rest; and for this purpose it will be fairest to quote his own words, "The explanation of the first and third seals; of Rev. vii.; of the beginning of Rev. viii.; of the second and third trumpets; of Rev. x. and xv.; of the first, second, and fifth vials; and of the *whole prophecy from the xviii. chapter*, are, I believe, ENTIRELY NEW; and the elucidations of Rev. xii. and xiv. may almost be included in this last, as they but *faintly* dred years, though that 50 be the even half."—Fox's Mart. vol. I. 444, 443. The argument has been a good deal improved since the days of Walter Brute.

^s "We think that Mr. Faber, with every concession to his real merits, as the magnus Achilles of prophetic commentators, should not have been put forward as their single representative; and that something more was due to Mr. Holmes, and his fellow labourers, than the mere introduction of their names."—Chr. Exam. Dec. 1826.

“resemble the illustrations of these prophecies heretofore published.”^h

In my former publication I mentioned particularly Mr. Faber, Mr. Frere, and Mr. Cuninghame, because I supposed that their works were best known and most popular; if, however, Mr. Holmes has a claim to be placed with them, I can have no objection, and certainly meant no offence. Mr. Croly too, whose work has been published, I believe, since I wrote, has, perhaps, a right to be classed among the popular interpreters of the day; and it may be sufficient for the present purpose to quote his advertisement, which I reprint from a newspaper, with its own capitals and italics:—

NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

This Day is Published, in one vol. 8vo.—Price 12s in boards,

THE APOCALYPSE of St. JOHN, or Prophecy of the Rise, Progress, and Fall of the Church of Rome; the Inquisition; the Revolution of France; the Universal War; and Final Triumph of Christianity. Being a *new interpretation*.

By the Rev. GEORGE CROLY, A.M. H.R.S.L.

“The real fact is,” said Mr. Faber, “that with the exception of Grotius and Hammond, and *one or two* who have followed them, there is NO DISCREPANCY among protestant expositors with regard to the great outlines of prophetic interpretation.” After quoting this passage, and another of similar import from Mr. Cuninghame, one of my reviewers says—

^h Preface to Fulfilment of the Revelation displayed.

“ These bold assertions stand in no need of re-
“ futation. It is indeed true that certain great
“ outlines of the Revelation itself are so broad
“ and palpable that they cannot be mistaken ;
“ and a plain unlettered reader of his bible,
“ who had never dipped into a commentator,
“ would be at little loss to understand the
“ general scope of the prophecy. A very small
“ portion of information would further enable
“ him to refer the seat of the harlot to the city
“ of Rome; and he would form some plausible
“ conjectures, perhaps, as to some other fea-
“ tures of the prophecy. *But at the point from*
“ *which expository interpretation sets out, discre-*
“ *pancy begins.* Expositors are agreed as to
“ the outlines, which stand in no need of
“ their labours, and no further. They can
“ therefore take no credit for agreement among
“ themselves so far; and beyond those unques-
“ tionable waymarks of interpretation, we may
“ ask, *on what single point are they agreed?*”ⁱ I
really believe it would be a matter of difficulty
to point out *one*. Mr. Faber, after having
stated the arguments for the existence of such
a period as the 1260 years, goes on to say—
“ The argument has hitherto been conducted
“ chiefly with reference to the Romanists, who
“ for obvious reasons maintain that the latter

ⁱ Eclectic Review, April, 1827, p. 324.

“ three times and a half are no more than three
 “ literal years and a half: for protestant expo-
 “ sitors are *sufficiently* ^k agreed that they must
 “ be years of years; or, in other words, they
 “ are sufficiently agreed that the three times
 “ and a half, the forty-two months, and the
 “ 1260 days, must alike be equivalent to 1260
 “ years. But here a second question arises.”
 No doubt it does; for the foundation is not yet
 laid, and after making *day* mean *year*, we must,
 in some way or other, make *year* signify two
 different periods.¹ On this point, however,
 protestant commentators are not “ sufficiently
 “ agreed;” and it becomes necessary for Mr.
 Faber to notice the opinion maintained by Mr.
 Fleming, Mr. Marshall, and Bishop Lloyd, in

^k It may be difficult to say what is a “ sufficient” agree-
 ment in such a case. But a doctrine which has been op-
 posed by so many, even among protestant divines, is not to
 be treated as an indisputable truth. I have already men-
 tioned several, though probably nothing like all, the pro-
 testant commentators who do not admit that the years of
 Daniel and St. John must be years of years.—See before,
 page 37.

¹ Perhaps the uninitiated reader would hardly suspect
 that when Mr. Faber, and many other writers, speak of
 “ years of years,” they use the word *year* to express two
 different periods, and mean “ *years*” (consisting of 360
 mystical days) “ of years” (consisting of 365 natural days).
 I do not understand how this is reconciled with the rules of
 homogeneity.

opposition to Mr. Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, and other commentators. I need not say that when the maintainers of this system have chosen that sort of year which they think best, they cannot at all agree from what point of time to begin their reckoning; for I have already shewn that they fix upon various periods during more than three centuries. To follow these discrepancies, which now branch off into endless variety, would be useless; but I call upon the reader to observe how far anything like a general agreement is carried beyond the one single assertion, that there is a certain period of 1260 years (of some sort or other—containing either 360 or 365 days), and which began at some period or another either in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth centuries.

Now, when I state that this great discrepancy leads me to suspect some error common to all these systems, I am not speaking only my own sentiments. What Mr. Scott has said respecting one part of the subject, I feel, indeed, to apply to all. “The different opinions of eminently learned and able men on the subject, and the extreme difficulty which they seem to find in making one part of their interpretations consistent with the others, are powerful arguments in my mind that they have not fact and truth to bear them out.”^m Dr.

^m Comm. Rev. xi. 7-12.

Adam Clarke, in the Preface to his Commentary on the Revelation, after specifying the various systems of interpretation which have been maintained, adds—"My readers may naturally expect that I should either give a decided preference to some one of the opinions stated above, or produce one of my own: I can do neither; nor can I pretend to explain the book; I do not understand it; and in the things which concern so sublime and awful a subject, I dare not, as my predecessors, indulge in *conjectures*. I have read elaborate works on the subject, and each seemed right till another was examined: I am satisfied that no *certain mode of interpreting* the prophecies of this book has yet been found out; and I will not add another monument to the liteness or folly of the human mind by endeavouring to strike out a new course. I repeat it, I do not understand the book; and I am satisfied that not one who has written on the subject knows any thing more of it than myself: I should, perhaps, except J. E. Clarke, who has written on the number of the Beast. His interpretation amounts nearly to demonstration; but that is but a small part of the difficulties of the Apocalypse."

I cannot better express the opinion which has been forced upon my own mind, than in the words of a writer in the Eclectic Review;

he says—"When we reflect on the number and
" talents of the men who have attempted to
" illustrate the visions of St. John, and the
" great discordance of opinions, it would seem
" as if there *must be* something *radically* wrong,
" some *fatal error*, at the *very foundation* of ALL
" their systems of explanation, which is one
" great cause of the mistakes and confusion
" that appear to pervade them all. *What this*
" *is deserves to be maturely considered,*"ⁿ Whose
language this is, I know not; but I wonder that
the same view has not forced itself on all who
have reflected on the subject. I believe, how-
ever, that the fundamental error was long ago
pointed out by Bengel, and that he was quite
right when he said—"He who has once laid
" aside the prejudice of the *year-day*, will find
" out the *root* of most of the forced interpreta-
" tions."^o

IV. The fourth point which I would mention
is the want of conviction which appears to me
to exist in the Christian church, and the very
little *real belief* which *any* system of interpreting
the supposed period of 1260 years has obtained.
Surely, if any one of these had been Aaron's
rod it would have swallowed up the others by

ⁿ Vol IV. New Series. Oct. 1815.

^o Introduction to the Exposition of the Apocalypse
translated by Robertson, p. 147.

this time. Surely it would have wrought something like "general conviction." Instead of that, system after system appears—each has, perhaps, those who read it and admire its ingenuity or its learning—but, I can honestly say, that, to the best of my recollection, I have never found that *any one* system of interpretation had carried a conviction of its truth to the mind of *any individual* whom I have questioned on the subject. I have been in the habit of enquiring on this point; and I have not yet met with a person who was prepared to say of any system, "I am satisfied that it is the right one." I frequently hear the reading of such works recommended. If I then ask the opinion of him who recommends, he tells me, perhaps, that he thinks it very ingenious;—but when I come to the point, and enquire, "Are you satisfied with it yourself? do you rest in a conviction that it gives the real meaning of the prophecies?" there is sure to be a change of tone—"Why, really, there seems to be a great degree of probability about a considerable part of it—this or that part is very satisfactory—he shews incontrovertibly that Mr. — is quite wrong in his interpretation of the trumpets, or the vials, or the witnesses—I really think it is a very able work and well worthy of attention." "Well, but are you satisfied that so far as it professes to give the meaning

“ of the prophecies, it does, generally speaking, “ give the *real* meaning ?”—“ Why, really, I “ should think it highly probable that, in a “ considerable degree, it does so—but I should “ wish to speak cautiously, and, in fact, I have “ not studied the subject sufficiently myself to “ give a decided opinion.” Now this is not the language of conviction. It is not such language as I should expect to hear from the great body of the Christian Church respecting prophecies fulfilled more than a thousand years ago, or actually fulfilling before their eyes. It is not the language which the same persons use with regard to other prophecies which they believe to have been fulfilled—such as those relating to the first advent of our Lord, to the dispersion of the Jews, to the ruin of Babylon, Nineveh, and Tyre. There is, in the Christian Church, a full and hearty conviction, that these prophecies have been fulfilled by certain facts, respecting which christians are generally agreed. The same conviction exists respecting other prophecies, with regard to the fulfilment of which the precise period or circumstances are not equally clear (such as the return from Babylon and the seventy weeks); but with regard to the prophecies supposed to have been fulfilled during the 1260 years, I can neither find a general, nor an individual, conviction of the truth of *any* interpretation which has yet been given. I ex-

cept, of course, the authors of the various systems; who, I doubt not, conscientiously believe what they write. It is obvious too, that I can only speak of what I have found in my own sphere; the reader may perhaps find it different in his. I wish that these hints may lead him to enquire.

V. When prophecies, which are known to have been in existence for centuries, are being fulfilled before the eyes of men, is not an appeal to them “the readiest way to convince every reasonable man of the truth of revelation.” So Bishop Newton (the words of whose dedication I borrow) considered it; and so it is, as far as I know, considered by writers on the evidences of Christianity. They invariably, I believe, point the infidel to that great and striking fulfilment of prophecy, “now before his eyes,” the dispersion and state of the Jews; but I have not met with any writer who has argued on the fulfilments of prophecy supposed to have taken place in our own age, and predicted by the seals, trumpets, and vials.^p

^p One of my reviewers says—“Bishop Newton, whose dissertations on the prophecies were, as we learn from the dedication, expressly written for the conviction of infidels, considers an appeal to those of recent fulfilment as the most eligible, because it cannot possibly be said that they were ‘framed after the events;’ and though he

The infidel to whom Bishop Newton proposed this mode of proof was "startled," and "said " he must acknowledge, that if this point could " be proved to satisfaction, there would be no " arguing against such plain matter of fact; it " would certainly convince him, and he believed " it would be the readiest way to convince " every reasonable man of the truth of revelation." Yet I believe that Mr. Faber himself, in his work on "The Difficulties of Infidelity," has made no mention of the 1260 years, though he has a section on fulfilled prophecy, as constituting one of those "difficulties."

VI. A sixth argument against the system may be drawn from some consequences which appear to arise out of its adoption. For the present I will confine myself to the notice of one.

This system requires those who hold it to maintain that the passages in Daniel which re-

" could not in his day direct their attention to the French " Revolution, later writers have not failed to do so."—Chr. Examiner, p. 454. My reviewer may, and should, have a more extensive knowledge of the subject than I possess; and therefore I shall not contradict his assertion; but as he has not specified any works "expressly written for the conviction of infidels," which "direct their attention to the " French Revolution," I must say that it is only on his testimony that I know of their existence.

late to the Little Horn, and the parallel passages in the Apocalypse, have been fulfilled by the Pope or the Papacy.

Let us briefly enquire how far history will warrant this application of the prophecy.

1. Can it be truly said that "the saints" have ever been delivered into the hands of the Pope, or the Papacy, in such a way, for such a purpose, and with such a consequence, as the words of the prophecy plainly require?

Here a very material question arises—namely, what are we to understand by the word "saints?" for it appears to me that the system which applies the prediction to the Papacy, owes whatever plausibility it possesses to a very convenient mode of making the same word signify two very different sets of persons.

When "the saints" are delivered into the hands of the Little Horn, we are (according to these interpreters) to understand the *visible church*; and, in order to maintain this fulfilment, the *universal* spiritual dominion of the Pope is insisted on.

When, however, "the saints" are made war upon, and worn out, we are required to understand the *maintainers of true religion*, as contradistinguished from those who just before were

“the saints;” but who are *now* the servants of the Little Horn, and employed by him in persecuting “the saints”—that is, the *spiritual church*, cast out from, and persecuted by, the *visible church*.

Having thus two different, and actually opposed, sets of persons to whom we may apply the title indifferently, as occasion requires, we may keep up appearances; but surely, if we take the plain language of scripture, we must understand that “the saints” are some one body—delivered into the hands of their persecutor in that corporate capacity—and persecuted by him *generally*, and as a *body*, and *because* they are saints.

Without denying that the title might have been used to designate either the *visible church* of Christ, or the *spiritual church*, as contradistinguished from it, I do venture to maintain that it cannot mean both. Let us see how far it is, in fact, applicable to either.

Let us suppose it to mean the *visible church*. Surely it never was universally given into the hands of the Papacy. It is strange that one should need to affirm this, while there are ecclesiastical histories in existence. It is a strange thing to exclude the millions of the Greek Church from the title of “saints,” *because* they *resisted* the Little Horn; and to restrict that title to those who became his *pro-*

fessed subjects. Surely the Greek Church is, and always has been, too important to be passed over as it is by the interpreters of prophecy. It is, beyond all comparison, the church next in magnitude to the church of Rome; and that one which, in point of antiquity and extent of claim, comes most naturally into competition and comparison with it.

Let it pass, however—we will suppose that it was too insignificant to form an exception, or think afterwards of some reason for ridding ourselves of it just at present. But how can it be maintained, with any thing like gravity, that the visible church is *now* in the hands of the Pope? I will not inquire what is his real authority over those who are professedly of his own communion; but I ask, how can we talk of “the church” being in his hands, when the number of Christians who reject his claim to supremacy, who openly defy him to his face, and over whom he does not pretend to have any sort of control, is nearly as great as the whole number of his professed and nominal followers? ^a

Well—let us get over this, and, for the sake

^a I say this on the authority of a statement which appeared in the *Missionary Register* for January, 1828—in which the number of Roman Catholics is set down at 129,550,000, and that of Christians not in communion with the Church of Rome, at 105,345,000.

of argument, suppose that, by a figure of speech, a part is put for the whole, and that a *sufficient* number of “the saints” were delivered into the hands of the Pope—did he set to work to make war upon them? Did he make it his business to exterminate them? Not that ever I heard of. When we get to this part of the argument, and feel how impossible it is to pretend that the Pope has ever “made war” upon the *visible church*, and “worn it out,” we begin to be in want of the other sense of the term. “The “saints” can be allowed to be saints no longer.

Let us then take the word “saints” in its restricted meaning. I do not know that Mr. Faber expressed any thing but the common opinion when he said that, on the Pope’s obtaining universal supremacy, the saints of God “were made the vassals of the man of sin; and “were, in consequence of it, soon reduced to “a state of worse than Egyptian bondage.”^r I must say that, if this is true, it did not fulfil the prophecy, which foretels not the *bondage*, but the *destruction* of the “saints.” There is nothing in the prophecy which predicts, or which seems to me compatible with, the *vassalage* of the saints. The part assigned them in the scriptures is open, uncompromising, and steadfast resistance to the peremptory command of a tyrant. He makes no offer of *servitude*, nor

^r Vol. I. p. 209.

could they accept it if he did—they are to obey, or to die—they resist, and are slain. It does seem to me utterly repugnant to all that is revealed on the subject, to imagine that the “spiritual church” of Christ should ever be *servants* (whether willingly or by constraint) of the Little Horn, the Man of Sin, or the Apocalyptic Beast.

Now, is it pretended that when the saints were delivered into the hands of the Pope, they did make this resistance? did he make war upon them? Did he persecute them in the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries? No—they did not resist, nor did he make war upon them and wear them out. Then came the Albigenses, and he did make war upon them, and did wear them out.^s Their history is short and simple; and, however unpopular it may be to say so of a people whose sufferings have excited so much interest and

^s “ Bellum autem isthoc non statim ab initio suo gessit “ Bestia, sed postquam jam ad ακμην suam pervenerat, currente seculo a Christo nato duodecimo. *Prima* ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenses et Waldenses, et si quo alio nomine tunc appellati sint veri Christi cultores.” Mede, p. 503. So that, according to Mede, “ the saints” were followers of the Man of Sin for more than five hundred years, without resistance on their part, or persecution on his. I wish the reader would turn to the plain words of scripture, and see if this can be admitted as a fulfilment. If it can, I think we may make what we please of the prophecies.

claim so much compassion, yet I must say, their simple history is this—they took the sword and they perished by the sword. I do not mean to speak uncharitably of them. Their conduct was that of men—perhaps of heroes and patriots—but not of martyrs. Every principle of my own corrupt nature would have led me to join their ranks, rather than to have knelt with Stephen; but the rule of Christ is plain and unqualified, and whatever title we may give to him who dies with a sword in his hand, we cannot call him a martyr. But, when they were destroyed, was the spiritual church “worn out,” or even subjugated? Did it not seem from that time to arise and shine and put on strength? And what has been its history ever since? Has the Papacy been “practising and prospering?” No.—I venture to say that from the time when the Pope began to persecute the spiritual Church of Christ, his power has waned, and notwithstanding all his “practising” he has never “prospered.”^t

^t F. Turretin, after tracing the Papacy through its various stages, and placing its ακμη “*in teterrimis Papatus te-
nebris a Gregorio VII. usque ad Lutheri Reformationem,*” adds that we may see it, “*εν παρακμη ut decrecentem et
cadentem ab illo tempore;*” and he quotes the following passage from Bellarmine, “*Ab eo tempore, quo per vos
Papa Antichristus esse cœpit, non crevit ipsius imperium,
sed semper magis ac magis decrevit.*” *De necess. Seccess.
nostra ab Ecc. Rom. Disp. VII. § xv.*

The Church of Christ upon earth is in a depressed condition; and ever must be until she is purified and made ready as the Bride of the Lamb. Since the day that the Bridegroom was taken away, she has had need to mourn his absence, and to humble herself in sackcloth, for the many corruptions and imperfections which have ever abounded. She is weak and impure, for such are all her members. She is "in the wilderness," and must tarry there till she finds one to lean on who may bring her up: but to talk of the Church of Christ as being in the wilderness, or of her witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, *because* of the dominant apostacy of the church of Rome—or *because* of the warfare of the Pope—either *now*, or for by far the greater part of the 1260 years, seems to me altogether absurd.

2. If the saints were thus delivered into the hands of the Little Horn, how shall we account for the acknowledged fact that they knew nothing of the matter?

According to Mr. Mede's system, the saints were delivered over to their persecutor in the *fifth* century—according to Mr. Frere, Mr. Cuninghame, and Mr. Irving, in the *sixth* century—according to Mr. Faber, Dr. Hale, and many others, in the *seventh*—and according to

Bishop Newton and Lowman, in the *eighth*. It will appear less surprising that modern expositors should differ so widely as to the time when this most important event took place, if we consider that not one of "the saints" who lived in any one of those centuries ever dreamed that it had taken place at all. The church of God was delivered over to its persecutor, and yet for centuries knew nothing of the matter. "The Man of Sin," says Bishop Hurd, "had a *convenient time* to display himself and grow *up*." Yes truly—a convenient time for the Man of Sin, but a most inconvenient time for those expositors who are driven to such shifts to account for the lapse of these centuries; and a most awful time for those who formed the Christian Church during that period."

"The author of "A Defence of the Students of Prophecy, in answer to the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, of Strathblane," says—"Although several individuals testified against the Bishop of Rome as Antichrist, yet nothing decisive took place till the Reformation," [*that is for near a thousand years,*] "when it pleased the Lord to *open the eyes* of his servants, to see that Popery was the system which he had foretold as the Apostacy," &c. p. 53. Was it in ignorance, or in irony, that the Apostle directed the Thessalonians to look for the Apostacy *as the sign* of subsequent events? or were the Thessalonians, in the apostolic age, really gifted with a degree of penetration, which they had not the opportunity to exercise, but which was denied to millions in later ages, though it was the only thing that could have saved them from unpardonable sin and perdition?

Can any man say that he really believes, and seriously wishes us to believe, that when God had pronounced so heavy a curse on every one who should worship the beast, or receive his mark, he actually concealed from his church that most important fact, that the person or power whom they religiously believed to be their *spiritual* head, and the very Vicar of Christ upon earth—whom, under this view, they received with reverend honour and worship—whose mark they took upon them in simple faith that it was the seal of the living God—that this personage was indeed THE BEAST, the great enemy of their God and Saviour, whom they had been warned to resist even unto death?

To make the matter more tangible, I will speak of a period of three hundred years, comprising the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries; because I believe that almost all protestant commentators agree in supposing that “the “saints” were, during that time, in the hands of the Little Horn. There were, therefore, saints in existence; and I would ask, *what did they do while they lived, and what became of them when they died?* If the prophecy is true, and rightly applied to the Papacy, then, *all* the saints who lived during those three centuries, either *refused* to receive the mark of the beast, and were slain by him (of which I find no re-

cord), or they *received* that mark and have passed into perdition.

We may try to get rid of the difficulty by vague talk about charity, or subtle distinctions; but I dare not alter the word of God, or make exceptions, qualifications, or conditions, where He has made none; and we may safely affirm the unsoundness of any system which requires such measures to support it. He has said—
“ *If any* man worship the beast, and his image,
“ and receive his mark in his forehead, or in
“ his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of
“ the wrath of God, which is poured out with-
“ out mixture into the cup of his indignation;
“ and he shall be tormented with fire and brim-
“ stone, in the presence of the holy angels, and
“ in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke
“ of their torment ascendeth up for ever and
“ ever: and they have no rest, day nor night,
“ who worship the beast and his image, and
“ whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.”
It is also declared that “ *all who dwell upon the*
“ *earth* shall worship him, whose names are not
“ written in the book of life of the Lamb slain
“ from the foundation of the world.”—Rev.
xiii. 8.

If then any man shall choose to maintain that every individual of those whom he himself supposes to have been of the number of “ the
“ saints,” (I will not say in the world at large,

but even in the little world that has been made on purpose—the Roman-western-imperial-papal-habitable earth) during these three centuries, either worshipped the beast and has perished, or refused that worship and died a martyr, he may consistently maintain that the Papacy is the Little Horn; but I think he will not have many followers. Let him not, however, alter the word of God to meet the exigencies of his system; or tell a world, too ready to believe it, that how strictly soever the God of Heaven may denounce his wrath against any specified sin, we may yet charitably hope that he does not really mean all that he says.

3. The Pope does not appear to me to have answered the character of the Little Horn, as it regards *blasphemy*, any more than as it respects the particulars already mentioned.

To be sure, if we make free to explain away words, as we perhaps must, in order to maintain the system at all, it will not be difficult to make it appear that the Pope has fulfilled any prophecy that has ever been given. If we can really persuade ourselves that during nearly 1260 years the Pope has had the saints in his hands—has made war upon them, and worn them out—that he has caused “ALL” whose

names are not written in the book of life to worship him, and has literally, or figuratively, or mystically, or any how else, *slain* all the rest—if, I say, we can believe this, the path of interpretation is made wide and smooth enough. Nothing need stop us. We may always refer to such precedents; and if challenged by the common rules of interpretation, we may say—“We often find words thus used, or phrases which are to be explained on this plan, in other parts of scripture”—or, in other words, “We have taken the same liberties with plain words elsewhere so often, that however presumptuous or absurd we may be on this occasion, we shall not want a precedent.” Thus one departure from common sense not only produces a single error, but forms the support of many more. In fact, the various parts of this system appear to me to resemble a stand of grounded arms—each is actually falling with its own weight; but each supports, and is supported by, all the rest; and all derive, and communicate, that support by which they stand, from the very principle which, if they were single and independent, would bring all to the ground in a moment.

What is *blasphemy*? Mr. Faber has a note,^x which I consider as a literary curiosity. It is

^x Vol. I. p. 89.

to shew, in opposition to Mede and Sir Isaac Newton, that blasphemy “does *not exclusively* “mean *idolatry*.” Why what man in his senses, that had not been blinded by system, would ever have dreamed that it did? Surely these great men must have thought that they might set common sense at defiance. Mr. Faber, however, after having shewn the fallacy of their interpretation, adds in round unqualified terms, “blasphemy is apostacy.” Is it? I conceive that this definition is no more correct than the other. Indeed it seems to me so obvious that a man may, like Saul of Tarsus, be a *blasphemer*, without being an *apostate*; and a *apostate*, like Demas, without being a *blasphemer*, that it would probably be a waste of words to say more about it. In fact, BLASPHEMY is a very intelligible word. “To blaspheme,” according to Johnson, is “to speak in terms of impious irreverence of God;” and such is the very conduct attributed to the Little Horn. He is to speak marvellous great words AGAINST *the God of Gods*—to shew himself in the temple of God that HE *is God*—to exalt himself *above all that is called God* and is worshipped—to force men *to worship himself*, or his image, on pain of death. All this is clearly enough “blasphemy,” in its plain and obvious meaning; and I am persuaded that but for the difficulty of making this square with the Papacy, we should have heard

nothing about either *idolatry* or *apostacy* as synonyms for *blasphemy*.

Here, as elsewhere, forasmuch as the Pope does not exactly suit the prophecy, we must so modify the prophecy as that it may suit the Pope. It is, however, curious to observe, that although commentators may have set out with saying that blasphemy means idolatry, or apostacy, or any thing else, yet they have uniformly felt the necessity of some attempt to make it out that the Pope has actually blasphemed, in the common sense of the word, and in modes somewhat resembling, or made to resemble, those predicted respecting the blaspheming of the Little Horn. In order to this, we are told that the Pope has, in a certain sense, or *virtually*, exalted himself above the Almighty by indulgences—or by others, who are not satisfied with this explanation, that the GODS, above whom the man of sin should exalt himself are nothing more than earthly princes, and that instead of supposing “all that is worshipped” to mean all that is religiously adored, we should take it to mean the objects of that honour and respect which one man may lawfully shew to another. To help out, individual Popes are brought forward who have blasphemed, and individual writers who have blasphemed about the Pope. One writer after another has thought it to the purpose to state that some wretched

man was blasphemous enough to address his Holiness as "Our Lord God the Pope;" thus, with comical ingenuity, which would be out of countenance in any other argument, transferring the sin of blasphemy from him who uttered it, to him of whom it was spoken.

I have no wish to defend the foolish, blasphemous, and idolatrous impieties of Popery, but I must maintain that in this, as well as in other points, it either falls short, or does not agree, in kind and quality, with what we are led to expect from the 'Little Horn, whose blasphemy seems (if such a thing can be described in words) to be downright barefaced infidelity—something more like what was exhibited in France during the Revolution, than like any thing that has ever been seen in the Church of Rome. "He is Antichrist that *denieth* the "Father and the Son." The Church of Rome has not denied either; and if the open profession of faith in the Father and the Son, as very God, in glory equal, in majesty co-eternal, be the characteristic point, I shall be glad to be shewn any protestant church out of Great Britain and Ireland, so free from apostacy as the Church of Rome. This, however, belongs rather to the next division of the subject.

4. As the Papacy does not appear to have

^y I. John ii. 22.

fulfilled the predictions respecting the Little Horn, so neither does it seem to bear the peculiar and characteristic marks of THE APOSTACY predicted in the scripture, and which, it is generally agreed, is described by the apostle Paul, II. Thess. 2, and I. Tim. iv. 1, &c.

I am not ignorant of the pains which have been taken to apply these passages to the Papacy, or of the learning and ingenuity with which that application has been maintained. The arguments in support of it have been so often stated, that they are probably familiar, or easily accessible, to every one who may take the trouble to read these pages. I shall, therefore, on the present occasion, merely state, as briefly as I can, the reasons which induce me to believe that Popery, notwithstanding its errors and its heresies—its idolatries, impieties, and cruelty, which I wish neither to deny nor to excuse, is not *the* apostacy against which the church has been forewarned. I very much doubt, indeed, whether the Church of Rome, corrupt as it may be, can properly be called *apostate*. That title seems to imply a more complete defection from the faith than is to be found in the Church of Rome, which has ever held the foundation, whatever wood, hay or stubble, it may have heaped upon it. I have

endeavoured to learn the doctrines of the Church of Rome, not from the explanations of Bossuet or Butler, but from her creeds and councils, and especially from the formularies, and tracts which she has circulated among her members ; and though I have seen many of these, and have obtained some even in those parts where Popery is not merely established, but in its fullest vigour ; yet I have scarcely seen any that did not contain a plain statement of the essential doctrines of Christianity. There has always been much alloy—often much absurdity—much that I believe to be error and heresy—yet, taking them altogether, as books to put into the hands of an uneducated person, they have generally contained better materials for forming a scriptural faith *on the fundamental points of Christianity*, than can be found in the neological divinity which has overrun almost all the protestant churches of Europe. Let me illustrate my meaning by referring to an author who will not be suspected of partiality to the Church of Rome. The translator of the catechism which was published on the restoration of Popery in France, after stating that it had been “ ushered “ into the world in due form and order, and “ with all the sanction of authority, spiritual “ and temporal,” (that is, with the bull of the Pope, the mandate of the Archbishop of Paris, and the decree of the Emperor,) adds—“ the

“ *doctrinal part of this catechism is as little excep-*
 “ *tionable as any.* The reader will here find
 “ the mere facts recorded in the sacred scrip-
 “ ture, and the *general principles of Christianity*
 “ arising out of them, and depending upon
 “ them; and in *these* the Church of Rome is *not*
 “ *unsound.* The doctrine of the Trinity, the
 “ fall of man, original sin, the merits of Christ,
 “ the grace of the Holy Spirit, the eternal
 “ misery of the wicked, and the eternal bless-
 “ edness of the righteous, have all a place in
 “ this compilation.”^z

Now, though these doctrines may have much heaped upon them that shall perish, yet they are, I think, the foundation; and as long as the Church of Rome openly maintains them, I know not how to call her *apostate*, notwithstanding her many and great corruptions. She is, I imagine, and always has been, a part of the Catholic Church of Christ; and that she is viewed in this light by the Church of England, seems to be placed beyond all doubt, by the fact that a priest of the Romish Church, on his joining the Church of England, is not required to be re-ordained. It will be hard to account for this, without granting that the Bishop of

^z A Catechism for the use of all the Churches in the French Empire, translated from the Original, with an Introduction and Notes, by David Bogue. London, 1807.—Introduct. p. vi.

Rome is a true Christian Bishop. It is difficult to imagine that the Church of England would admit a man to serve at her altar, because Antichrist had ordained him—because the “Son of Perdition” had laid hands on him—because the “Man of Sin” had given him holy orders. Should Mr. Irving conform, he must be received by our church as a layman. In vain might he plead that he had received ordination in the Kirk of Scotland, and had been acknowledged as a minister of a part of the Church of Christ—his case would differ essentially from that of Mr. M’Guire, who might claim at once the right hand of fellowship as a priest, simply on the ground that he had been a member of what these interpreters consider the great Antichristian Apostacy, and had been already made a Christian Priest by the Son of Perdition.

Suppose, however, that by some means or other, we can so qualify the word as to shew that the church of Rome is *an* apostacy, I must yet deny that it can be shewn to be *the* apostacy—or *such* an apostacy as we are directed to look for in the latter days.

I believe no writer of this age supposes that the Papal apostacy of the 1260 years began before the sixth century. Indeed all those systems which placed its commencement at an earlier period, may be said to have been refuted by time; because too long a period has already

elapsed since the æras on which they fixed. It is too notorious to be denied, that there were errors, and heresies, in the Church of Christ before that time; but it is maintained that before that time they *did not*, and from that time they *did*, constitute the predicted apostacy.

It appears to me that the predicted apostacy is described more particularly by three marks, and I presume that they were given to the church, in order that the faithful might know and avoid that apostacy, whenever it should take place, and testify against it after it had taken place. On these three points then, I will make a few observations.

1. The first mark mentioned by St. Paul is, that men shall “depart from the faith, “giving heed to seducing spirits, and *doctrines of devils.*”

That is, according to Mr. Mede, giving heed to doctrines of, or concerning, *devils*—or *dæmons*—or *inferior deities*—or *mediators* between God and man—or, in short, men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to false doctrines, which shall teach them to pay a superstitious and idolatrous veneration to departed saints, and angels, and to raise them to the rank of intercessors with God. And how is this wonderful transmutation effected, by which “devils” be-

come "saints and angels?"—Truly, by the help of heathen philosophy. A sad thing it seems to me, and one for which nothing but the exigency of system will account, that a christian priest, like Mede, should go to Plato and Plutarch to enquire what he was to understand by the word *δαιμονιον* in the writings of St. Paul. The simple question is, what sort of being did the Apostle mean us to understand by the word *δαιμονιον*? and what Plato might understand it to mean, or use it to express, is nothing to the purpose. It is no question of Greek criticism, but one purely theological; and one on which Mr. Mede, with the New Testament in his hand, was more competent to decide than all the heathen philosophers in the world. Plato said, indeed, as Mr. Mede has quoted, *Παν το δαιμονιον μεταξυ εστι Θεου τε και θνητου*. If we take his definition of a *dæmon*, why rest there? Why should we single out this word from the sentence? Is he not as competent to teach us what is meant by the Greek word *Θεος* as by the Greek word *Δαιμονιον*? Or have we any system of theology and *dæmonology* better than he possessed? Surely we have one, which should make us very shy of running to heathen mythology (or, as Mr. Mede more smoothly terms it, "the gentile's theology") for definitions on such subjects, even though they may help to support particular systems.

The word *Δαιμονιον* is common enough in the New Testament; and what is the invariable meaning of it as used by our Lord and his Apostles? I believe that there is no case in which they have used it, where it can be pretended that it means the separate, or deified, spirit of a man, or an angel, or any kind of being that could, by the utmost ingenuity, or perversion, be made to appear like a mediator between God and man. There is nothing that does in the slightest degree countenance the interpretation which Mr. Mede has laboriously fetched in from pagan superstition—nothing that allows us to believe that our Lord, or his Apostles, ever meant any thing by the word, but that which we understand by the terms “unclean spirit,” or “devil.”

“Perhaps,” says Mr. Mede, after having occupied five chapters with working round the matter, “I am yet too forward in my application; some things in our way must first be cleared; for howsoever the resemblance, indeed, be evident, yet, First, the text seems not to intend or mean it, because the word *Δαιμονιον* is in the scripture NEVER taken in the *better* or *indifferent* sense, howsoever profane authors do use it, but ALWAYS in an *evil* sense, for the *devil* or an *evil* spirit. Now, the signification of words in scripture is to be esteemed and taken only according to the

“scripture’s use, though other writers use them
“otherwise.”^a

One would suppose this to be unanswerable; but having made this broad assertion, Mr. Mede instantly undertakes to disprove it, by producing a passage in which the word is used in what he calls the “philosophical sense.” In Acts xvii. 18, we read that St. Paul was charged with being “a setter forth of strange
“*gods*” (δαμονιων). “This place,” he adds triumphantly, “I take to be so unanswerable for
“the indifferent and common acceptation of the
“word δαμονιον, that I care not now though the
“rest should fail me.” In “the rest,” indeed, he seems to have placed no great confidence, and that is not surprising when it is considered that they are, Rev. ix. 20, “that they should
“not worship devils,” &c., and I. Cor. x. 20, “The things which the gentiles sacrifice they
“sacrifice to devils and not to God; and I
“would not that ye should have fellowship with
“devils.”

Now with regard to the first of these, which is Mr. Mede’s strong hold (Acts xviii. 18), he might have observed that the words on which he relies are the *quoted words* of heathen philosophers. I dare say that when “*they said*, he
“seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods,”

^a P. 634.

they meant very much what Plato or Plutarch might have meant; but what is that to the purpose? I appeal to the reader, whether I might not as fairly argue that the word $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, does not always mean the true God, in the New Testament. After raking together all that could be found in "the Gentiles Theology," that could be made to resemble the scriptural account of the nature and attributes of God, (in which, by the way, there would be less difficulty than in making the pagan notions of dæmons, agree with the scripture account of devils,) might I not triumphantly adduce Acts xxviii. 6? Who would venture to say that the word $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in that place means the God of Abraham, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ? Might I not adopt Mede's language, and say—"This place I take "to be so unanswerable for the indifferent and "common acceptation of the word $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, that I "care not though the rest should fail me?" But they would not. Acts xiv. 11, 12, would prove to a demonstration that the word was actually used for those beings who in "the "Gentiles Theology" were called Jupiter and Mercurius. The cases appear to me entirely parallel. The philosophers of Athens, the barbarians of Melita, and the men of Lystra, spoke according to their own conceptions; but to suppose that the inspired writer who recorded their words, meant to adopt their language, or

to countenance their notions, is monstrous ; and surely no reasonable man, who was not driven to desperation by the exigency of system, would ever have thought of such a thing.

As to the argument drawn from Rev. ix. 13, it is merely begging the question, and requires no answer. *If* the prophecy has been fulfilled, and *if* the rest of the interpretation up to that point is right, we must make the best we can of that passage ; and I acknowledge that it will be a mere trifle, in comparison with what we must have got over, by the time we arrive at it. But this is just the question.

With regard to I. Cor. x. 20, surely there is scarcely need to say any thing. It would have been most gratuitous to inform the Corinthians, that those things which the Gentiles sacrificed, they sacrificed to certain beings whom they called dæmons, and not to the true God. They knew that quite as well as the Apostle did, and his evident purpose was, *not* to speak of dæmons in the sense in which they used the word, but to shew them that the objects of Gentile idolatry were in fact what the word of God calls “ devils.” The reason which he assigns is sufficient evidence of this, and that he did not contemplate saints or angels, or any thing but unclean spirits—“ I would not that ye should “ have fellowship with devils.” According to Mr. Mede, St. Paul himself is now become one

of those very dæmons; and though I do not believe that any of our modern expositors of prophecy would join in a sacrifice to him, yet I doubt whether there is any one who would assign as a reason, that he was afraid of having, or seeming to have, “fellowship with the “Apostle.”

These passages are weak indeed, and less than nothing, when set against the constant use of the words in the New Testament, and the constant and plain doctrine of scripture.^b

Hitherto I have merely argued that there is nothing in the language of the prophecy—nothing in the declaration, that “in the latter “times some shall depart from the faith, giving “heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of “devils”—which points particularly at the doctrine, and practice, of the Church of Rome; and that the interpretation by which it is attempted to make it do so, is altogether untenable. Suppose, however, that interpretation should be granted—would it not render the prophecy nugatory with respect to the very object for which, it is admitted, it was given? Whatever “doctrines” the Apostle might refer to in speaking of the apostacy, we might naturally

^b It would be tedious to refer to all the passages; but let the reader who has any doubt refer to Matt. ix. 33, &c. x. 8, xi. 18, xii. 24, xvii. 18, Mark i. 34, iii. 15, 22, vi. 13, vii. 26, ix. 38, xvi. 9, Luke viii. 27, &c. xi. 14, &c.

expect (as indeed, I believe, all writers admit) should be characteristic of that apostacy—that is, should distinguish it from what the whole church had been before the rise of the apostacy, and from what the rest of the church should continue to be after the apostacy should have arisen. This doctrine, however, does neither one nor the other. No man, who has the slightest acquaintance with the history of the church, will deny that this heresy was far and wide established—was open, barefaced, and accredited, long before the period when the Papal apostacy is said to have taken place.^c And is

^c “ Read only some of the most celebrated fathers ; read
 “ the orations of Basil on the martyr Mamas, and on the
 “ forty martyrs ; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus, on
 “ the death of Basil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the
 “ praises of the holy martyrs ; read the orations of Gregory
 “ Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and on Cyprian ;
 “ read the orations of Gregory Nyssen, on Ephraim Syrus,
 “ and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius, Bishop
 “ of Antioch ; read the sixty-sixth and other homilies of
 “ Chrysostom ; read his oration on the martyrs of Egypt,
 “ and other orations : and you will be *greatly astonished* to
 “ find *how full they are of this sort of superstition, what*
 “ *powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what pray-*
 “ *ers and praises are offered up to them.* ALL THESE were
 “ monks, and most of them bishops too, in the FOURTH
 “ CENTURY.”—Vol. II. p. 467. These are the words of
 Bishop Newton ; and if the reader is not “ greatly asto-
 nished ” at facts which are pretty notorious, he may per-
 haps be surprised at finding them thus stated by a writer
 whose 1260 years did not begin till the *eighth century*.

there, or has there ever been, the slightest shade of real difference on this point between the Church of Rome, and the Greek Church? Has not the next greatest body of Christians to the Papists as many, and as unscriptural, doctrines of mediators, saints, and intercessors?

“It must be sadly acknowledged,” says Smith, “that there is a great deal of superstition mixed up in their public service, and offices: such is their perfuming the church, the painted figures, the holy table, the deacons and others with their incense-pots; their frequent crossing themselves; the extravagant respect they pay to the unconsacrated elements in the great procession; their closing several of their prayers with these words, ‘*for the intercession of our Lady, the spotless Virgin-Mother of God;’* and sometimes they add, ‘*and of all saints;*’ the oblation of particles, and their *prayers to saints and especially to the B. Virgin, and the like.* After the offering up of the particle the quire sings, ‘*It is meet indeed to praise Thee, the Mother of God, who art always to be blessed, free from all blemish, the Mother of our God, more to be honoured than the cherubims, and beyond all comparison more glorious than the seraphims, who broughtest forth God the Word, without any diminution of thy virginity; we magnify Thee, who art truly the Mother of God.*’

“ They oftentimes make direct prayers to her ;
“ as, ‘ *O, Mother of God, Holy above all, save us.*’
“ When they are rising out of their beds in the
“ morning they are taught to say, ‘ *Thou, O*
“ *God, art holy, holy, holy: for the sake of the*
“ *Mother of God have mercy upon us.*’ Besides,
“ there are prayers and hymns directed to her
“ in their offices, hence called *θεοτοκια*, full of
“ extravagant expressions, and which argue a
“ great declension from the purity and simpli-
“ city of the Christian worship, too fulsome to
“ be here recited at large ; only for a taste I
“ shall add one or two. ‘ *In Thee, O Mother of*
“ *God, have I put all my trust ; save me by thy in-*
“ *tercession, and grant me pardon of my sins.*’ And,
“ ‘ *O, blessed Mother of God, open to us the gate*
“ *of thy mercy: let not us who hope in Thee, err ;*
“ *but let us be delivered from dangers by Thee:*
“ *for Thou art the safety of all Christians.*’ And
“ the like horrible superstition they are guilty
“ of in their addresses to angels and saints.”^d

I think it will be no easy matter to shew any real difference as to the doctrine of human mediators between the Church of Rome, and the forty millions of professed Christians who use the prayers of which the foregoing are “ a taste.” It marks the Church of Rome as apostate ; but fixes no such brand upon them.

^d Account of the Greek Church, p. 231.

The truth is, they are *not wanted*.^e We have already got a Western apostacy in Popery, and

^e In this respect their circumstances very much resemble those of the Papists in America—who might, I should think, be considered as a part of the Papal apostacy. But they are not wanted, and would, indeed, only be in the way, and therefore, as far as I know, they are never brought into the question. That branch of the Romish church, founded in cruelty and blood, and maintained in the deepest superstition, may form a sort of city of refuge for the apostacy in the hour of God's judgments.

A strange thing it seems to me, that those who find in Daniel, and the Apocalypse, an anticipatory history of the world and of the church, should pass over an event so important as the discovery of America. Could I take their view of the subject, I should say, as Mr. Faber does of the Mohammedan delusion; “For myself I cannot readily imagine, that an event, pregnant” [if not] “with such great woe” [yet with such great and permanent consequences] “to sound religion, would be passed over in silence by the two great chronological prophets.” Sac. Cal. I. 74. Surely, if, as Mr. Faber has said, “having various chronological prophecies which professedly relate to the entire period of the latter three times and a half, we may not unreasonably esteem them defective, if they be wholly silent as to the” French Revolution, we might also “not unreasonably” expect some notice of such an event as the spread and settlement of Christianity in a new-discovered world. Of this event we may surely say, with as much truth as he says of that, “This is a *naked historical* fact; whether the fact itself be or be not *foretold* in those prophecies which, as all acknowledge, treat of the latter three times and a half. As for the theological importance of the fact, the Christian, who values his religion, will not be disposed to controvert it: and with regard to the secu-

an Eastern apostacy in Mohammedanism, and to get another would spoil all. They may go on as they will—not having been allowed to be “saints,” because they *resisted* the Son of Perdition and are separate from his communion, they may practise his characteristic sin as boldly as he does, without incurring the guilt, or the judgments, of the apostacy.

2. Forbidding to marry—of this characteristic mark of the apostacy much the same may be said. That there were heretical sects in the church which prohibited marriage long before the period when it is pretended that the apostacy took place, will not be denied; and even if we lower down the terms of the prophecy so as to meet that spirit which gave rise to and cherished monachism, that spirit and the practice to which it gave rise formed no part of Popery contemplated as the apostacy. “Till the year

“lar importance of the fact, it will be as little disputed by “the mere politician, whether he be, or be not, a speculative believer in the truth of revelation.” Sac. Cal. I. 74. But no expositor—not even those who have found the invention of air balloons, or the fact of Mr. Faber’s preaching in St. Paul’s, Covent Garden, predicted in the chronological prophecies—has, as far as I know, ever met with any allusion to the extension of the Christian Church, or of the Papal apostacy in a new world—but America would only add fresh embarrassment to a system already overloaded with difficulties.

“ 250, there were no monks, but only asceticks
 “ in the church: from that time to the reign of
 “ Constantine, monachism was confined to the
 “ anchorets living in private cells in the wilder-
 “ ness: but when Pachomius had erected mo-
 “ nasteries in Egypt, other countries presently
 “ followed the example, and so the monastic
 “ life came to its *full maturity* in the church.”^f

But let us restrict the prophecy still farther, and confine it to the forbidding one class of persons of one sex to marry, for special reasons arising (or, however erroneously, supposed to arise) out of their function. The Church of Rome forbids her priests to marry—no doubt she does, and so did the Catholic Church long enough before the Papal Apostacy began. To say nothing of earlier custom, or more private injunction or recommendation, “ the Council of
 “ Eliberis in Spain,” says Bishop Newton,
 “ which was held in the year of Christ 305,
 “ was, I think, the first that by *public authority*
 “ forbad the clergy to marry, and commanded
 “ even those who were married to abstain alto-
 “ gether from their wives.”^g I am not going

^f Bingham’s Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 7.

^g Vol. II. p. 465. I give the Bishop’s own statement; but I have some doubt, whether the construction which he, and other writers, have put upon the canon to which he refers is correct. If it is not, I do not want to take advantage of their error, and I think it right to state my suspicion. I will transcribe the canon, however, and the reader may

about to maintain the infallibility of councils, or to defend the constrained celibacy of the Romish clergy; I merely state that the forbidding to marry, of which the Church of Rome is guilty, did not originate in that church, and does not distinguish it from the Catholic Church before the supposed apostacy.

Neither does it, so far as I can see, very materially distinguish it from the Greek Church; in which "marriage does not hinder any per-

judge for himself. "Placuit in totum prohibere Episcopis, "Presbyteris, Diaconibus, et Subdiaconibus positis in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, et non generare filios. Quod quicumque fecerit, ab honore clericatus ex-terminetur." I think this may possibly have been intended to forbid the withdrawment of married ecclesiastics from their wives; especially because, notwithstanding the Bishop's assertion (which after some practice in turning out his authorities has no great weight with me), I cannot find that this council did prohibit the marriage of ecclesiastics, if by this canon it "commanded even those who were married to abstain altogether from their wives;" and also because a subsequent canon (65) seems to contemplate the clergy as living in a married state. "Si cujus clerici uxor fuerit mœchata, et sciat eam maritus suus mœchari, et eam non statim projecerit, nec in fine accipiat communionem: ne ab his, qui exemplum bonæ conversationis esse debent, videantur magisteria scelerum procedere." I suggest this merely as a doubt which I do not think it right to suppress. If the Bishop is correct, the marriage of the clergy was prohibited even earlier than I suppose; if he is not, it makes very little difference as to the time, and none at all as to my argument.

“ son, if he be not otherwise unqualified, from
 “ being put into holy orders; nor is such a one
 “ obliged to live from his wife. But the gene-
 “ ral practice of the church is against marriage
 “ after orders. So that if any priest, once
 “ married, should marry a second time, much
 “ more, if a priest not before married should
 “ enter into this state, they are liable to cen-
 “ sures; and as if the character imprinted upon
 “ them, when they were made priests, were by
 “ this act rased out, they are esteemed as mere
 “ Laicks, and accounted Παράνομοι or flagitious
 “ persons, and transgressors of the laws and
 “ canons of the church.” ^h

I do not believe that a law, or custom, or practice, which requires a great qualification or restriction of the words of the prophecy—which originated out of the Romish Church—which was in full vigour before it is pretended that the apostacy of that church took place—which in fact is not peculiar to that church—was intended as a characteristic mark of the Romish Church.

3. “ Commanding to abstain from meats.”

I feel quite at a loss how to express my astonishment, that any expositor should have been hardy enough to carry on the interpretation by

^h Smith on the Greek Church, p. 91.

applying this part of the prophecy to the fasts of the Church of Rome. Strange indeed it will be if the predicted mark of apostacy should turn out to be a practice commanded in the word of God, recognized as a religious duty by every christian communion, and placed first and foremost in her list of "good works" by the purest protestant church in the world.¹ To say that *this*, which the Church of England enjoins on her members, as a "good work, " whose commendation is both in the law and " in the gospel," changes its character so far as to become a badge of apostacy, when excessively or superstitiously performed, is a shift which it would not be worth while to answer, if the reply were not so close at hand. Has the Church of Rome ever commanded such excessive abstinence as had been practised by voluntary superstition long before that church was distinguished as the apostacy, or, in fact, distinguished at all from the rest of the Catholic Church? And has the Greek Church never been excessive or superstitious on this point? " The first great and holy fast, as they speak, " is that before Easter, according to the ancient " practice and example, and takes up full *eight* " *and forty days*, besides the Sundays: all which " time (unless upon the festival of the Annunci-

¹ See the Homily " Of Good Works. And first of Fasting."

“ ation of the Blessed Virgin, and Sundays,
“ when they are indulged to eat some sort of
“ fish, which they may not upon other days of
“ Lent) they wholly abstain from all sorts of
“ flesh, and fish too, except shell fish, as
“ cockles, muscles, oysters, scallops, and such
“ as have no blood (for of these they may law-
“ fully eat); as also from eggs, cheese, and
“ whatsoever is made of milk; and use them-
“ selves for the most part to a dry kind of diet.
“ On Sundays and Saturdays the use of wine
“ and oil is permitted; but the devouter sort
“ of people, and especially the priests, and they
“ of the monkish order, refuse both. Some
“ are so strangely devout, or rather supersti-
“ tious, that they will not touch any thing that
“ is forbidden; so that if by chance a drop of
“ wine or oil should fall upon their bread, or
“ any of their lawful food, they think them pol-
“ luted and profaned, and accordingly throw
“ them away; and had rather (out of obstinacy
“ and desperateness) perish, either through
“ hunger or by sickness, than be guilty of so
“ grievous a sin, as they esteem it.”^k — — —
“ The second solemn fast is of *forty days*, be-
“ ginning on the fifteenth day of November,
“ and serves to usher in the solemnity of
“ Christmas.” — — — “ This fast is very mild

^k Smith on the Greek Church, p. 35, et seq.

“ and easy, in comparison of the great Lenten
“ Fast before Easter; for though they are
“ obliged to abstain from flesh, butter, eggs,
“ &c. yet there is free use of oil, wine, and all
“ sorts of fish, as at other times. The third
“ solemn fast is in honour of the B. Virgin, and
“ called by her name. It lasts *fourteen days*.”

— — — “ The fourth solemn fast is the fast
“ of the Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.
“ The duration of this fast is not fixed and cer-
“ tain, as the rest are; for it is longer or shorter,
“ as Easter falls higher or lower in the year.”
The author adds, however, that in the year
1669, when he obtained his information, it ex-
tended to *twenty-two days*. “ Thus much for
“ the annual fasts. The weekly fasting days
“ are Wednesday and Friday; which are
“ strictly still retained, in compliance with the
“ ancient custom and practice of the Catholic
“ Churches in the first ages of Christianity.”

Are these marks which the scripture sets be-
fore us characteristic of the Papacy? I appeal
to the reader, whether they distinguish the
Church of Rome, as it has been in that period
during which it may be called the Papacy,
from what the Catholic Church was before that
time, and what the Greek Church has been
ever since?

There is much parading of witnesses, who, it
is pretended, even in ages of darkness and igno-

rance, saw clearly, and proclaimed boldly, that the Pope was Antichrist—is it pretended that these are the points against which they testified. I have already exposed some part of the falsehood, by which these men of straw have been palmed upon ignorant, or careless, readers; and I cannot help wondering that those who spared neither pains, nor principle, to bring witnesses, did not manage to make the testimony which they put in their mouths rather more to the purpose. What restrained those who had the effrontery to affirm, that St. Bernard believed, and taught, that the Pope was Antichrist, from asserting that he denounced the invocation of saints, and the adoration of the Virgin?—that he caused all the monks of Clairvaux to marry, and forbade them to abstain from meats, to the great solace of the said monks, their wives and little ones, and to the utter confusion of the detected apostacy?

On this point I speak, because I feel, strongly; and it is a source of grief and indignation to see how passages are misquoted, and made to say what their authors never meant. I do not, however, by any means, cast the guilt of this on the writers of the present day. The *authorities* on which their systems are founded were, for the most part, collected long ago by men less honest than I verily believe them to be, and I really think that not one of them would have

recourse to the dishonest artifices which Bishop Hurd and Bishop Newton did not think it beneath them to employ.¹

It may be asked—If the Papacy has not fulfilled these predictions, *how* have they been fulfilled? I answer, that it seems to me most plain and obvious, that they have never been fulfilled at all. I imagine that whenever the “saints” shall be actually in the hands of the Little Horn, they will be in no doubt whether they are there or not. I fully believe that the prophecy will be fulfilled, in all its parts; but, while I consider it as still unfulfilled, I am not prepared to describe the mode of its accomplishment. I think, however, that the plain language of the scripture warrants us to expect,

1. A *real* apostacy, openly denying the truth of Christianity;—openly and avowedly denying the Father and the Son.
2. That this apostacy shall be headed by some person who shall impiously claim divine honours, and exact them on pain of death.

¹ This is a heavy charge, and I would not make it without adducing some proof of its truth; but as that would only interrupt the course of the present argument, to which it has not any restricted application, and as it is, moreover, a point of some importance, as affecting the confidence which may be placed in those who have been considered as leading expositors of prophecy, I prefer adding it in the form of a separate section.

- 3 That this apostate power shall have dominion over "the saints" (whatever persons may be intended by that title), and shall institute, and successfully carry on, a persecution by which they shall be "worn out."
4. That the same apostate power shall forbid to marry.—Those who have any acquaintance with the real doctrines of apostates from Christianity, (whether French philosophers, German illuminati, or liberal infidels of England), will require no proof that such a law may be expected, if an infidel apostacy should become dominant. If others doubt on this point, I had rather that they should remain unconvinced, than bring forward matter which might convince them. They who are not "liberal" "and enlightened philosophers" themselves, and who have not taken pains to see through those who are, have, I believe, very little idea of what is going on in this day, and in this country, to prepare the community for such a measure. I may say, however, that I believe three years have not elapsed, since one of our most notorious political œconomists is reported to have publicly denounced the institution of marriage, as one of three great evils, to which the misery of mankind might be attributed.

5. That this apostacy should also issue some ordinance commanding to abstain from meats. What this may be, I know not; but that it should be religious fasting, professedly in honour of the true God, I do not expect.

These, and not these only, seem to be predicted marks of the apostacy. Whether I am right, however, in this brief statement of them is of no importance to our present question; which, I must remind the reader, is not whether the prophecy may be hereafter fulfilled in this, or in that, way, but whether it *has been* already fulfilled in the Papacy? For my own part, I fear that while people have busied themselves in fitting these prophecies to the Papacy, they have almost overlooked a real apostacy which, under the names of rationalism and neology, has risen to a fearful height in foreign Protestant churches, to say nothing, at present, of any other.^m

^m Let the reader, who is in any doubt on this subject, read Mr. Rose's Sermons, and the publications to which they have given rise—especially, (as that which most clearly and unanswerably shews the state of the church in Germany,) Bretschneider's Reply, translated by Mr. Evanson. There is something, which, if the matter were less serious, would be very amusing, in the wrath which has been excited among the divines of Germany, and in their various modes of expressing it. Many have done valiantly; some, perhaps, whose answers I have not seen, wisely; but of what I have

But, as I have already said, our present question is simply, whether the prediction has seen I do most affect the cool, brief, and pithy revenge of the Herr Prediger Schoene, who has stuck our English divine into his chronological tables, published at Berlin in 1828. There he stands, with as much distinction, and as fair a chance for immortality, as if he had been a Pope or an Emperor—a comet, or a general council—and Bur-schen yet unborn may sigh (or, more probably, swear) as they read—“ 1826. Hug. Jac. Rose, Cantabrig. a zelotis “ instructus et subornatus, in theologos Germaniæ eruditissimos intemperanter ac proterve debacchatur.” Some excellent observations, on the subject of “ Favourable Notices and Reviews of Infidel Publications,” have appeared while these sheets were passing through the press, in the tenth number of the Christian Review, which may shew the reader what I mean by expressing a fear that the infection was not confined to foreign churches. When English critics, (I know not to whom the Christian Reviewer alludes,) come to talk of the “ defective and *even* “ *erroneous* theological creed” of Gesenius, there is some fear, that either they are not qualified to review his writings, or that they have adopted his theological creed, as far as he can be said to have any. This is not the way in which his neighbours speak of the Professor. I recollect the cool, matter-of-course manner in which a bookseller, in Halle, who heard me expressing my disgust that a man who had just published a most infidel book should continue to be Professor of Divinity in another University, observed—“ Why, our Gesenius believes nothing of the matter !” I know not who was the writer of the Antichristian or the Christian review to which I have referred—but to the latter I would take leave to suggest that “ one gentle hint” is not enough, with respect to an evil, which should the Church of England continue to exist (a thing not impossible—but, per-

been fulfilled in the Papacy; and the reader will remember that my object in bringing for-

haps, more to be desired than expected), will, if not openly and vigorously resisted, reduce her to a level with those churches, which have scarcely even a form of godliness remaining.

Long as this note is, I cannot help adding a specimen for the benefit of those readers who are not familiar with the subject. As our present business is with the Apocalypse it shall be, from what I believe to be, the latest Commentary on that book which has issued from the German school. The author is Professor Ewald, of Gottingen, and the book was printed at Leipsic, 1828. Even a short extract may, perhaps, be enough to give the reader, unaccustomed to this school of divinity, quite a new idea of the nature of the Revelation itself, of the object for which it was written, of the views and principles of the writer, and of the mode in which it should be treated by an enlightened theologian. The first section is "*De scribendi consilio librique argumento;*" and after speaking of the trials which the primitive Christians were called to endure, the Professor adds—

"*Igitur ne nimis Christiani tantis periculis deterrentur*
 "*neve plures, ut jam coeperunt, timore a fide christiana*
 "*alieni facti detrimentum inferrent rei christianae summum,*
 "*solandi erant miseri et erigendi, vituperandi timidi et*
 "*impii, monstrandum erat, mala utut maxime videantur*
 "*terribilia, brevi tamen cessatura esse; piis et fidelibus*
 "*ampla virtutis et fidei nunquam infractae praemia, ceteris*
 "*autem qui aut Christianorum sacra timore ignaviave de-*
 "*serant aut ipsi Christianos immerito vexent, poenas certo*
 "*instare gravissimas.*

"*Quo autem facilius coaevos suos calamitatum istarum*
 "*onere pressos partim consolando erigerit et firmaret, partim*
 "*minando hortaretur et instigaret, succurrit Johanni idea*
 "*quaedam tum temporis orbi christiano familiarissima, quae*
 "*omnium animos tenuit, firmavit et exercuit, ideam dico de*

ward the question was only to shew *one* of the many difficulties which arise out of the mystical

“ *παρουσία χριστου*. Viguit scilicet opinio christianorum
 “ animis alte infixā, christianam rem, qualis primis initiis
 “ erat, tenuem, pressam et contemtā non diu mansurā ;
 “ laetiori potius, quā digna sit, sorte mox eam fore ornan-
 “ dam. Haec tamen idea sic expressa cum hominum ani-
 “ mos minus percellat et moveat, cum alia conjungebatur
 “ cui major inerat vis ad veritatem illam imaginum ope
 “ rudioribus quoque persuadendam. *Sumta ea est ex opini-*
 “ *onibus de Messia judaicis, ad Christianam tamen indolem*
 “ *sapienter temperatis*. Notum est, Judaeos imprimis post
 “ vaticinia sub *Danielis nomine* celebrata Messiam melioris
 “ conditionis instauratorem, pios et fidos beantem impios
 “ punientem, eo ipso tempore adventurum esse credidisse,
 “ quo pii gravissime hostibus externis oppressi sint ; qua-
 “ cum opinione conjuncta erat arcissime de Messia Hiero-
 “ solymis hostium vi deletis regni melioris seu coelestis in-
 “ stauratore et omnium, mortuorum etiam facta pro meritis
 “ remunerante persuasio. *Pulcherrima est haec temporis*
 “ *melioris futuri, quod omnes cupimus et semper cupimus,*
 “ *imago, modo ne singulos colores poetis et vatibus deberi ob-*
 “ *liviscamur*. Illam vero Messiae imaginem cum Jesus in
 “ terra non exprimeret, ipsi discipuli ex eo mox abituro
 “ quaesiverunt, quando vere ut talis Judaeorum Messias
 “ adventurus sit Matth. 24, 3. Nec Jesus quae prius jam
 “ vates de Messia augurati erant omittit ; Messiam docet
 “ celeriter et improvise, ubi pii maximis periculis conflictat-
 “ turi sint, coelitus adventurum et judicium habiturum esse,
 “ id autem ante omnia urget, tempus adventus quamvis
 “ proximi prorsus esse incertum, piis igitur semper esse
 “ vigilandum et pro viribus laborandum ne praemio exci-
 “ dant Matth. 24, 25. Quibus orationibus quid Jesus aliud
 “ potuit spectare, nisi ut spe ista, rem christianam ali-
 “ quando felicem fore. assecletur suos ad fidem et virtutem

interpretation of the 1260 days. To go through all the difficulties of that system, and to sift all

“maximas inter calamitates inconcussam servandam hortaretur? (Matth. 24, 36-25, 30). Et quam sapienter tempus adventus non definivit, ut semper Christianis vigilandum esse doceret?”

“Opinio haec de Christo mox redeunte quantum valuerit in orbis christiani primordiis, omnes N. T. epistolae satis demonstrant. Ea apostoli ut consolabantur miseros, ita impiis minabantur (1 Cor. 16, 22); Christum cum mox pro merito omnibus retributurum et impios imprimis puni-
turum esse quis putaret, tanto ardore Christi praecepta tenere et contemptis humanis (Tac. Ann. 15, 44) omnibus atque caducis futura meliora soli virtuti studentes sperare solebant, ut nisi haec opinio alte animis eorum infixata fuisset, nunquam doctrinam christianam tam mirifice propagari et sustentari potuisse credas. Cumque persuasio haec iniquissimis Christianorum primorum temporibus firmissima fuisset et *utilissima* (ut semper in maximis, quas immerito subimus, calamitatibus plurimum opus est spei), postea inde a fine saeculi secundi et tertii cum laetioribus et tutioribus rei christianae incrementis prorsus evanuit vel explicatione (si vera fateri licet) *falsa* ita immutata est, ut jam Christi adventum post immensam demum et nemini cognitam seculorum seriem expectandum esse putarent.

“Hac igitur communi temporum istorum opinione utitur etiam felicissime auctor Apocalypseos, cujus summum argumentum hoc est, ut Christianos tum temporis maximis malis oppressos et a gentilium furore coeco vexatos adventu Christi vindicis pios remunerantis, impios, gentiles imprimis punientis vivide describendo consoletur et ne metu fidem deserant adhortetur minis immixtis.”

May we not believe that the disciples of this Professor will be prepared to join those who shall ask, “where is the promise of his coming?”

the hard sayings which must be received before we can embrace it, would weary both myself and my readers; because they must for the most part be treated of separately and in detail. Of this, however, I shall give a specimen, in some remarks on the common interpretation of the seven heads of the beast; but, for the sake of clearness, I shall throw them into a separate section.

In the mean time I beg the reader to weigh the points already adduced in this section, viz. the unprecedented nature of the required interpretation—its having been totally unknown to the Church of God, who were most deeply interested in it, from the days of Daniel to those of Wickliffe—the total inability of expositors, even when they assumed the period, to make any thing of it in which they can agree among themselves—the actual want of real conviction, and faith in *these* fulfilments of prophecy, which is found in the Christian Church—the absence of appeal to *them* in controversy with infidels—and the difficulties which must be got over with respect to historical facts,—and I ask, whether these matters, impartially considered, do not form a strong body of *direct evidence* against the mystical interpretation of the 1260 days?

NOTE ON BISHOP NEWTON.

In justification of what I have already said respecting Bishop Newton, I wish to bring before the notice of the reader two specimens of what I consider as dishonest artifice. They are not all that might be adduced, but they are perhaps sufficient; and I feel it a duty to promote an examination of the *authorities* on which the system of the 1260 years rests, because, as I have already said, they were collected by writers less scrupulous than I believe the present race of expositors to be, who nevertheless use the authorities collected by their predecessors, without sufficient examination. The authorities quoted by Bishop Newton are particularly liable to be used in this way, because, in all editions that I have seen, the original of all passages quoted, is printed at full length in the notes, and seems to give a sort of security for correctness. That it is not so, may however appear from the following instance. The Bishop says—

“ Sulpicius Severus having given an account of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, and of all the particulars relating to

“ it, subjoins an exposition of it agreeable to Daniel’s interpretation. ‘The image is an emblem of the world. The golden head is the empire of the Chaldæans: forasmuch as that was the first and most wealthy. The breast and arms of silver signify the second kingdom: for Cyrus, the Chaldeans and Medes being overcome, transferred the empire to the Persians. In the brazen belly, the third kingdom is declared to be portended; and that we see fulfilled: forasmuch as the empire taken from the Persians Alexander vindicated to Macedonia. The iron legs are the fourth kingdom: and that is the Roman, the strongest of all the kingdoms before it. But the feet, part of iron and part of clay, prefigure the Roman empire to be so divided as that it should never unite again: which is equally fulfilled — — forasmuch as the Roman territory is occupied by foreign nations or rebels: and we see (saith he, and he lived at the beginning of the fifth century) barbarous nations mixed with our armies, cities, and provinces. But in the stone cut out without hands, which brake in pieces the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay, we have a figure of Christ. For he shall reduce this world, in which are the kingdoms of the earth, to nothing; and shall establish another everlasting kingdom. Of which alone the faith of some is still dubious, and they will not credit future things, when they are convinced of the past.’”

Of this quotation the original is given in a note; but with what fairness the reader who compares it with what was actually written by Sulpicius Severus, may judge. I subjoin for that purpose the whole passage, placing between brackets and in italics those parts which the Bishop has omitted.

“ Igitur secundum prophetæ interpretationem, imago visa,
 “ figuram mundi gerit. Caput aureum, Chaldæorum impe-
 “ rium est: siquidem id primum et opulentissimum fuisse
 “ accepimus. Pectus et brachia argentea, secundum reg-
 “ num annunciant. Cyrus enim victis Chaldæis atque
 “ Medis, imperium ad Persas contulit. In ventre æreo,
 “ tertium regnum portendi pronuntiatur: idque impletum
 “ videmus. Siquidem Alexander ereptum Persis impe-
 “ rium, Macedoniæ vindicavit. Crura ferrea, imperium
 “ quartum, idque Romanum intelligitur, omnibus ante reg-
 “ nis validissimum. Pedes vero partim ferrei, partim fic-
 “ tiles, dividendum esse Romanum regnum, ita ut nunquam
 “ inter se coeat, præfigurant: quod æque impletum est.
 “ Siquidem [*jam non ab uno Imperatore, sed etiam a pluri-*
 “ *bus, semperque inter se armis aut studiis dissentientibus, res*
 “ *Romana administratur. Denique commisceri testum atque*
 “ *ferrum nunquam inter se coëuntem materiam: commistiones*
 “ *humani generis, futuræ a se invicem dissidentes, significan-*
 “ *tur. Siquidem*] Romanum solum ab exteris gentibus, aut
 “ rebellibus occupatum, [*aut dedentibus semper pacis specie*
 “ *traditum constat:*] exercitibusque nostris, urbibus atque
 “ provinciis permixtas barbaras nationes [*et præcipue Ju-*
 “ *dæos, inter nos degere, nec tamen in mores nostros transire*]
 “ videamus. [*Atque hæc esse postrema tempora prophetæ*
 “ *annunciant.*] In lapide vero sine manibus abscisso, qui
 “ aurum, argentum, et ferrum testumque comminuit, Christi
 “ figuram esse. Is enim [*non conditione humana editus (si-*
 “ *quidem non ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo natus est)*] mun-
 “ dum istum, in quo sunt regna terrarum, in nihilum rediget
 “ regnumque aliud incorruptum [*atque perpetuum, id est*
 “ *futurum in seculum, quod sanctis paratum est,*] confirmabit.
 “ De quo uno adhuc quorundam fides in ambiguo est: non
 “ credendum de futuris, cum de præteritis convincantur.”

Now, would not any reader, who learned the opinions of Sulpicius Severus only from Bishop

Newton's quotation, suppose that he thought he saw the predicted *division* of the Roman empire, in "the barbarous nations mixed" with the older inhabitants of the Roman empire? Would it not bring to his mind—and was it not meant to bring to his mind—the hostile irruptions of barbarians, and "the division" of the Roman empire among them? And is not the hint that he "lived in the beginning of the fifth century,"^a artfully dropped for the same purpose?

On the contrary, taking the whole passage as it really stands, it appears that Sulpicius Severus considered himself as living in the last days; and believed that he *had seen* the division of the empire predicted by Daniel, not in the multitude of foreigners (principally Jews) who came to settle in it, but in a fact which the Bishop has totally sunk, and which he did not believe to have any thing to do with the prophecy—namely, the government of the Roman empire by more than one Emperor.^o

^a This is true as to the letter. The Bishop refers to Cave, but does *not* give his words, which are, "Claruit anno 401."—*Hist. Lit.* I. 284. Dupin says that he "lived till 'towards the year 420.'"—*Eccl. Writers*, III. p. 112.

^o There is another reason why Bishop Newton could not recognize this fact as operating any division of the Roman empire, or any change in its constitution, and why it was better to pass it over altogether. It would make another head of the beast, as Whiston contends that it did.

I do not pretend to say that the whole guilt of this fraud must be charged on Bishop Newton; though, as he gives no other reference than to the original author, he has certainly made himself responsible for the fairness, and accuracy, of the quotation. Still, he may have taken it, without due examination, from the work of some earlier writer; and this is the more probable, because I believe that those who knew him best did not give him credit for much more than a compilation.^p Be this, however, as it may, I trust that by noticing such specimens of garbled and perverted quotations as I have already brought forward in this, and my former, Enquiry (and which might be easily multiplied) I may prevail upon some readers—perhaps on some writers—to examine the authorities which are cited by writers on the 1260 years. I do not say that a writer is always bound to collate a quotation, before he adopts it; for that may be impossible: he may not know, therefore, whether it is correctly cited or not; but he must always know where he got it; and I can imagine no reason, but vanity or carelessness, which should prevent his telling the reader.

^p “DR. ADAMS. I believe his ‘Dissertations on the ‘Prophecies’ is his great work.”

“JOHNSON. Why, sir, it is *Tom’s* great work; but “how far it is great, or how much of it is *Tom’s*, are other “questions. I fancy a considerable part of it was borrowed.”—*Boswell’s Life of Johnson*, vol. V. p. 166.

I proceed to notice what appears to me to be a very disingenuous method of slipping over a difficulty.

In the twelfth chapter of the Revelation we read—

13. And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child.
14. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place: where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.
15. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.
16. And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.
17. And the dragon was wrath with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ."

Commenting on this passage, the Bishop says—

"When the dragon was thus deposed from the imperial throne, and *cast unto the earth*, (ver. 13,) he still continued to persecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made several attempts to restore the pagan idolatry in the reign of Constantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abused the Christian religion by such writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and

“ others of the same stamp and character; he rent
 “ and troubled the church with heresies and schisms;
 “ he stirred up the favourers of the Arians, and espe-
 “ cially the Kings of the Vandals in Africa, to perse-
 “ cute and destroy the orthodox Christians. These
 “ things, as Eusebius saith upon one of these occasions,
 “ some malicious and wicked dæmon, envying the
 “ prosperity of the church, effected. But the church
 “ was still under the protection of the empire, (ver. 14)
 “ *and to the woman was given two wings of a great eagle.*
 “ As God said to the children of Israel, (Exod. xix.
 “ 4,) *Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and*
 “ *how I bare you on eagle’s wings, and brought you unto*
 “ *myself*; so the church was supported and carried as
 “ it were on eagle’s wings: but the similitude is the
 “ more proper in this case, an *eagle* being the Roman
 “ ensign, and the *two wings* alluding probably to the
 “ division that was then made of the eastern and the
 “ western empire. In this manner was the church
 “ protected, and these wings were given *that she might*
 “ *fly into the wilderness*, into a place of retirement and
 “ security, *from the face of the serpent*. Not that she
 “ fled into the wilderness at this time, but several years
 “ afterwards; and there she is nourished for a time,
 “ times, and half a time, that is three prophetic years
 “ and a half, which is the same period with the *thousand*
 “ *two hundred and threescore days*, or years before
 “ mentioned. So long the church is to remain in a
 “ desolate and afflicted state, during the reign of Anti-
 “ christ; as Elijah (I. Kings xvii. xviii., Luke iv. 25,
 “ 26,) while idolatry and famine prevailed in Israel,
 “ was secretly fed and nourished three years and six
 “ months in the wilderness. But before the woman
 “ fled into the wilderness, *the serpent cast out of his*
 “ *mouth water as a flood*, (v. 15,) with intent to wash
 “ her away. *Waters* in the style of the Apocalypse

“(c. xvii. 16) signify *peoples* and *nations*; so that
“ here was a great inundation of various nations, &c.”

The woman, according to the interpretation just quoted, did not fly into the wilderness at the time when the wings were given to her, “ but *several years* afterwards.” I suspect that comparatively few readers are aware of the period which they are carried over by this phrase. How long a space of time may we fairly speak of as “ several years ? ” Shall we say five, ten, fifteen, or twenty ? or shall we be more liberal, and say fifty ? or, if system requires, make quite free, and take sixty, eighty, or a hundred ? Surely the most lax defender of the Bishop could not plead for greater latitude. I ask, then, is it not *positively dishonest* to use such a phrase, to slip over a period of more than three hundred years, which, according to the Bishop’s system, elapsed between the woman’s receiving these wings, and the earliest period from which he thought it possible that her abode in the wilderness could be dated ?

How Bishop Newton makes it out that the woman *did* use these wings in the eighth century, when as he supposes she took up her abode in the wilderness—or what the divided empire had to do with it—or why that is mentioned, except to suit the chronology, and to give an idea of some sort of fulfilment by the Roman *eagles*—I do not understand, and can

not conceive. Stilicho had passed away, and the “inundation of various nations, whom he is said to have invited, had been” swallowed up by the Romans long enough before that time. But that is provided for by slightly altering the prophecy. St. John says, “the serpent cast “out of his mouth water as a flood, *after* the “woman;” the Bishop says, “*before* the woman “fled into the wilderness, the serpent cast out “of his mouth water as a flood, (ver. 15,) with “intent to wash her away.”

This, however, is not the precise point. I adduce the passage as an instance of slipping over a difficulty, and to put careless readers of Bishop Newton's Dissertations, on their guard.

REMARKS
ON THE COMMON INTERPRETATION
OF THE
SEVEN HEADS OF THE BEAST.

“ The seven heads are seven mountains on which the
“ woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five
“ are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet
“ come.”—Rev. xvii. 9, 10.

I was led to make the following remarks on the heads of the beast by the fifth argument of Mede; but I have thrown them into a separate form, because they would have interrupted the course of my reply to that writer's proofs, to which indeed they have no particular application. Whether the sixth head had fallen more than a century ago, is a point which I venture not to decide, when I see such persons as Mr. Mede and Mr. Faber diametrically opposed; but the more I have considered the interpretation which finds in the seven heads of the beast, just seven forms of Roman government, the more I have been dissatisfied with it; and the

grounds of my dissatisfaction I wish to submit to the public. I am induced to do this, because I am convinced that many readers, and some writers, have no idea of the difficulties which exist on points that are very often slightly and cursorily passed over; and which are treated as if they might be taken for granted. I would premise, however, that I object to the common interpretation simply on the ground that it is *in itself* unsatisfactory; and that I am not trying to get rid of it in order to maintain any scheme of my own; for though I feel very confident that the seven heads are not seven forms of Roman government, as they have hitherto been enumerated, yet I am altogether unable to say what they are. I cannot, however, think that, in such a case, it is our duty to let what is bad stand untouched, until we are prepared to set up something better. The first duty is to pull down what is unsound; and it is better to let the foundation which God has laid lie bare and level with the ground, until, in answer to our prayers and our labours, he shall enable us to build up something solid and substantial, than to heap up hay and stubble, in order that we may seem to have done something. If the current interpretation of the seven heads is well founded, whatever I may say will not much shake it: if it is not, the sooner it is disbelieved the better; in

order that we may not be prevented from searching for the truth, or led to reject it, from a mistaken idea that we possess it already.

Let us, then, see what is the current exposition. Mr. Frere, speaking of the seven heads, says, "the first six of these are, on the most satisfactory historical evidence, *universally* admitted to have been Kings, Consuls, Dictators Decenvirs, Military Tribunes, and Emperors."^a I cannot help wishing that, on points which almost preclude the possibility of certain knowledge, writers would use more measured language. I do not believe that Mr. Frere meant to say what was false; but certainly he stated what it is scarcely possible that he should know to be true. I think I have a list of nearly three hundred works on Daniel and the Revelation, and for any thing that I (or, perhaps, Mr. Frere) can tell, there may be three hundred more; and it would surprise me almost as much to find that Mr. Frere had read them all, as it would to learn that they were unanimous on any one point relating to the 1260 years. I say this with no wish to censure Mr. Frere; but because I see that one expositor after another copies these broad, unqualified, assertions, without examination; and thus error acquires the stability, from having assumed the

^a Pref. p. ix.

confidence, of truth. I have considerable doubt whether it can be fairly said of *any* interpretation of *any* symbol in Daniel or the Apocalypse, that it is *universally* admitted; certainly it cannot be said of this one.^r

I shall not therefore have to bear the charge of disputing what is *universally* admitted, if I proceed to enquire, how far this opinion is well grounded. Whether the "historical evidence" which may be adduced is "most satisfactory," the reader will judge; for my own part, I believe that the interpretation rests on no historical evidence at all; but was merely adopted, at first, to meet the exigency of the case; and to answer this question, "If the Beast is the Roman Empire, what *can* the seven heads be?"

I have already professed my inability to answer this question; but I must say that the current answer is to me most unsatisfactory; whether it will appear so to the reader, does, I apprehend, depend very much upon the light in which he considers it. If he views it as an exposition of the word of God, and simply confers the facts of history, with the statement of the Revelation, he will, I think, be altogether dis-

^r How many expositors may have opposed this interpretation I cannot pretend to say; but I am sure that I might add more names to those of Bullinger, Junius, Langius, Michaelis, Herder, Cocceius, Vitringa, Storr, Eichorn, Grotius, Hammond, Hardy, and Whiston.

satisfied with the degree of correspondence which he will find between them; if, on the other hand, he considers it simply as a part of a system, the rest of which he takes for granted, and therefore makes up his mind that this *must* be so, because it is necessary to the system, he may believe this as firmly as he does the rest. I do not pretend to say that it is more difficult of belief than some part, or other, of every exposition that I have seen of the Revelation, on the system of the 1260 years.

In the first place I would observe, that this interpretation is founded on the assumption that the seven *Kings* (ch. xvii. v. 10) are not seven *Kings*, nor even seven *Kingdoms*, but seven forms of government in one and the same state. Now the passage before us is not a *description* of symbols, but professedly an *explanation* of symbols. It is the *interpretation* of the angel; and every other word in it is taken literally by almost every writer whose works I have seen. The seven *Kings* are spoken of, not as symbols, but as things symbolized; and I know not where we are to stop, if we thus find one figure within another. Why are these *Kings* to be figurative, while the mountains where they reign, and the peoples whom they govern, are literal?^s Surely this looks like an

^s As if to balance this matter, the *Kings* are the only part of the sixth seal which most commentators understand lite-

accommodation to system, and suggests a doubt of the system which requires it. But not to insist upon this, let us enquire how the heads of the beast are made out in the Roman empire. I think we must suppose, either that the beast had all his heads *at once*, or else that he had them *in succession*. The latter idea is, I believe, generally adopted by expositors. Thus, Archdeacon Woodhouse says, “ can we trace “ back the forms of government which *succeeded* “ *each other* under the Roman domination, so “ that they may fairly appear five, preceding “ the imperial form?” (p. 431.) Mr. Mede says, “ the heads of the beast are to be conceived as “ *climbing one above another.*” (p. 596.) “ By “ the seven heads are meant so many forms of “ government which took place *successively* in “ the Roman empire.” (Gill, Comm. in l.) “ The heads signify seven forms of government, “ or *successions* of rulers.” (Scott, Comm. in l.)

By such statements as these, I apprehend that the reader who is not familiar with Roman history is led to imagine, that the specified

rally. See Rev. vi. 15, where we find “ the Kings of the “ earth,”—“ that is,” says Bishop Newton, “ Maximian, “ Galerius, Maximin, Maxentius, Licinius, &c.” on a symbolical earth, with figurative mountains and islands, under a symbolical heaven with a figurative sun, moon, and stars, and suffering from a figurative earthquake. I have read more of homogeneity than I understand.

forms of government actually followed each other, like a succession of monarchs or dynasties; and such an idea would perhaps be even more strongly suggested by the language of some other expositors. Thus Mr. Gauntlett says—"The wild beast, therefore, namely the "Roman empire, was to have no more than "seven heads, or so many forms of government, "although, as far as *chronological succession* is "concerned, it shall be under the domination "of eight." (p. 293). Dr. Hales says, "His "seven crowned heads are described as seven "Kings, or forms of Government. 'Five of "them had fallen' at Rome in its pagan state—"1, *Kings*, beginning B. C. 753; 2, *Consuls*, "B. C. 509; 3, *Dictators*, B. C. 497; 4, *Decemviri*, B. C. 451; 5, *Consular Tribunes*, "B. C. 444, and were succeeded by the sixth, "the Imperial, B. C. 30."—(Anal. vol. II. part ii. p. 1355.)

I do not mean to charge these writers with intentional misrepresentation; but I think it will be evident that their statements are calculated to convey a very erroneous impression. Surely a person who had not read, or did not recollect, the Roman History, would suppose that they were speaking of seven consecutive forms of government, succeeding each other, in chronological order, in the same manner as George the Second, succeeded George the

First, and has been succeeded by George the Third, and the Fourth. After so much talk of *succession*, and such a representation of the heads of the beast *climbing* over one another, and falling one after another, surely he would not think the “historical evidence most satisfactory,” if it represented the second head as in existence after the fourth head had been cut off; and found that, though it was mentioned as a peculiar distinction of one head, that it should receive a deadly wound and yet revive, nothing was in fact more common than for a head to be in and out of existence repeatedly in the course of a few years.

Let us see what were the facts of Roman History on this point. Chronological minutiae have nothing to do with the question, and therefore I will take the dates as they stand in Hooke’s Roman History.

A. U. C. 243. **KINGS** expelled, and the name and office abolished—or, perhaps, only suspended for about a thousand years, if, according to Bishop Newton’s suggestion, we prefer making Odoacer’s assumption of the title of *King of Italy*, “a re-
“novation of the kingly authori-
“ty,” to an admission that it was
“a new form of government dis-

“ tinct from the Imperial.”¹ However this may be, the office and title of King was abolished, “ the “ administration,” says Hooke, “ was reduced to an *interregnum*, “ and the people, by another vote, “ declared Lucretius

A. U. C. 243. “ INTERREX.” While the supreme power was in his hands, either he was a head of the beast, (though certainly neither of the specified heads), or the beast had no head at all; and this is equally true of all subsequent periods when the government was in the hands of an *Interrex*, who was always, from the very circumstances of the case, possessed of supreme authority.”

¹ Vol. III. 302.

² “ Siquando proditus Interrex munus pro quo dicebatur, “ exequi nequiret, exacto dierum quinque spatio, alius succedebat, qui vices susciperet donec per singulos in orbem irent, ut modo tertius, nunc quintus, aut quartus, nonnunquam quartusdecimus, plerumque vigesimus proditus Interrex consules, magistratusve faceret aut comitia haberet. “ Quos quidem Interreges dum honori præerant consulum vicem gerere, idemque juris et potestates habere haud dubium est donec absoluto Reipub: munere Interregum potestas finiretur.”—Alexander ab Alexandro Gen. Dier, Lib. V. c. 6.

A. U. C. 244. CONSULS created—or the beast began to exist under what is commonly called his *second* head.

253. DICTATOR appointed—or the *third* head began to exist. What became of the *second* head? Had it fallen, or had it not? As far as history is concerned, it seems to me that something might be said on both sides, as it regards the Consulship.* The Consular office was not abolished, nor did

* When I see it seriously maintained—notwithstanding what plain readers of history have been used to consider its “Decline and Fall,” its overthrow and extinction—that the Roman empire remained, and was governed by *bona fide* successors of Augustus until the year 1806, I cannot help thinking that it is somewhat inconsistent to consider the Consular Head as altogether passed away before the time of St. John. I am not going to insist on its revival in the First Consul of France, though I take leave to throw out the hint, for the benefit of any writer whose system it may suit; but I venture to ask the reader, whether there is not more colour for asserting that the Consulship survived the time of St. John, than for maintaining that the Emperorship remained in existence, *as one head*, from the time of Augustus to A. D. 1806? Might not some writer, whose system required it, tell us that although at a period much later than that of St. John, there was a nominal Emperor, who had usurped on the liberties of the Roman people, yet the Consular office and dignity was scrupulously maintained, and even declared by a Roman historian of high authority

the individuals cease to be Consuls, though the Consular power ceased to be supreme. However, it is not my place to settle this matter. If the Consular head did not fall, the beast had two heads at once; if it did fall, it speedily revived, and was the only living head of the beast—for we find

A. U. C. 256. CONSULS restored to the supreme authority.

257. DICTATOR Posthumus—or third head alive again.

258. CONSULS, again.

259. DICTATOR Valerius.

to be the “*summa potestas*.”^a That a much later writer^b had called it “*sumnum bonum, primumque in mundo deus*,” and that, in short, (to adopt the words of a historian who could not be supposed to have in view any hypothesis for the interpretation of prophecy) “it was still felt and acknowledged, in the *last period* of Roman servitude, that this empty name might be compared, and even preferred, to the possession of substantial power. The title of CONSUL was still the *most splendid object of ambition*, the noblest reward of virtue and loyalty. The *Emperors themselves*, who disdained the faint shadow of the Republic, were conscious that they acquired an additional splendour and majesty, as often as they assumed the annual honours of the Consular dignity.”—Gibbon’s Dec. and Fall, II. 29.

^a Sueton. in Calig. p. 424.

^b Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, cap. lvii.

A. U. C. 259. CONSULS, again.

270. INTERREX. A. Sempronius followed in that office by S. Lartius.

271. CONSULS restored. Was this head slain by the interregnum, supposing it not to have fallen by repeated Dictatorships? or did the Consular head exist when there were no Consuls?

295. DICTATOR, Q. Cincinnatus.

— CONSULS.

302. DECENVIRI appointed—or *fourth* head began to exist.

304. CONSULS.

308. MILITARY TRIBUNES—or *fifth* head began to exist.

— CONSULS again.

Here is a specimen of less than seventy years. It would be tiresome, and surely it is needless, to pursue the shifting forms of the Roman government; for he who is not convinced by this specimen, of the unfitness of a beast with seven *successive* heads, to symbolize such an empire; or of the impropriety of representing these heads as consecutive; would be as little moved by a detail of the subsequent alternations of Consuls, Military Tribunes, Dictators, and those periods when none of them existed. To myself it appears not only unwarranted, but

absurd, to conceive of the heads as thus rising and falling, and to suppose that the beast had sometimes one head, sometimes two, sometimes none at all, and sometimes one or more of the old ones revived.

I apprehend that there are only two ways by which we can fairly enumerate the forms of Roman government; that is to say, either by *changes of official title* in those who held the supreme power, (in which case we shall find too many,) or by *substantial changes of the Constitution*, of which we shall not find enough for our purpose. Still, I know of no other way by which we can reckon; and I beg the candour and patience of the reader while I make a few remarks on these.

The former method appears to have been adopted by most writers. Mr. Faber says, “although the Austrian Archduke ceased to be the representative of the last head, because he formally abdicated the *official title* of Roman Emperor, Napoleon did not become the representative of that head, *because* he never assumed the *official title* in question.” Vol. III. 10. Mr. Cuninghame says, “It merits our most attentive consideration that until the renunciation of the *Imperial Titles* of Rome by Austria, *rendered* Napoleon the virtual representative of the Cæsars, his enterprises on the Continent of Europe were crowned with

“ complete success, but now he occupied the
“ throne of the beast,” &c. p. 310.

On this plan, then, what are we to do with the INTERREX, whom we so frequently find possessed of the supreme power in the Roman state? The *official title* of *Emperor* was not more formally abdicated by the Austrian Archduke, than the *official title* of King was formally abolished by the Romans. Now, I hope I shall not give offence to the learned reader (if I am so honoured as to have any), by supposing that some other person, into whose hands this Enquiry may fall, may say, “ Who ever heard of
“ an Interrex? and who would think of putting
“ him among Kings and Consuls and Empe-
“ rors?” I answer—he was as great a man—
was, as truly, the supreme head of the govern-
ment—and was, as completely, distinguished
by his own peculiar *official title* as any one of
them—and if he had been wanted to make up
the number, or could have been admitted with-
out prejudice, you certainly would have heard
of him—but tell me honestly, whether the titles
of Decemviri, Dictators, and Military Tribunes,
are not better known to you from books written
on prophecy, than from the Roman history it-
self? And might not something like this be
suggested respecting Odoacer, and Genseric,
and Alaric—of the Exarch of Ravenna and the
Kingdom of the Heruli?

But, not to pursue these questions at present, I readily admit, that, as far as I know, the Interrex has always been excluded from the list of heads; and this, I presume, for the obvious reason, that he would make one too many. I can imagine no other reason why he should not be admitted; and of the consequences arising from it, I intend to speak presently.

In the mean time, let me ask what relation Fabius Maximus bore to the state when he was PRODICTATOR? There seems to me to be no pretence for saying that he was a *Consul*, and special care was taken in his appointment not to make him a *Dictator*. If, however, it be said, that though he never had, or pretended to have, and was specially and carefully excluded from, the *official title*, yet he was in fact neither more nor less than a Dictator, I shall thankfully accept the concession, and hope to have an early opportunity of using it; but on our present plan it gives no help, because we are reckoning by the official titles of those who held the supreme power. Whether the Prodictator can be said to have done this might admit of some question; because a Consul co-existed, whose power did not merge, as it would have done in a Dictatorship. This, however, makes no difference as to the argument; for undoubt-

^v Livy, xxii. 8.

edly the supreme power was either in the Prodictator, or in him and the Consul jointly; and either way we shall not find such a head in the list which we are examining.

Should any one say, “*minus insignis quia non diuturna, mutatio fuit,*” I answer freely that I agree with him; as I do also with Livy, who used those words to express his opinion of the *Decemvirate*.²

Again—was the Roman empire never governed by a TRIUMVIRATE? I anxiously desire to be concise, and I feel that it is enough simply to allude to this notorious part of the Roman History, and to ask, if the Triumvirates did not form a head of the beast, what head had he during their existence?

What shall we say of PERPETUAL DICTATORS? Perhaps it will scarcely be safe to reply that the *perpetuity* of their office did not distinguish them from common Dictators.

Might not something too be said of the SENATE? I think, if it were wanted, we might find some way of shewing that it was, at some time or other, possessed of supreme authority; and might dismiss all gainsayers to dispute the matter with Otho, who has satisfactorily decided the point, by expressly and emphatically (though unconsciously, and without any know-

² Lib. III. c. 33.

ledge of the prophecy) calling it “CAPUT
“IMPERII.”^a

It is obvious, however, that we have already got beyond the prescribed number of “official
“titles;” and yet I can anticipate no reasonable or consistent objection to those which I have proposed to add to the list. Let them, however, be all rejected, and the difficulty still remains, and is equally fatal to the system. If these persons were not heads, during their official existence, surely it cannot be pretended that the beast had any head at those periods at all; and if he was without a head for one hour, he must have become, on Mr. Faber’s principle, totally extinct. “Symbolical decorum,” says that writer, “which is founded upon physical
“realities, forbids us to ascribe vitality to the
“hieroglyphical hydra when not a single one
“of his seven heads is in existence.”^b “The
“excision or deadly wound of any single head
“must prove mortal to the whole beast; unless
“*previous to*, or at the *precise time* of, the exci-
“sion, he puts forth (like the fabled hydra)
“another head.”^c “We may safely assert,” he adds, when speaking of the seventh head, (and I suppose it is equally true of all the others,) “that the seventh head must rise up
“either *shortly before* the fall of the sixth, or *in*

^a Tac. Hist. Lib. I. c. 84.

^b Vol. III. p. 17.

^c Vol. III. p. 27.

“ *the very moment* of its fall, because otherwise
 “ our interpretation will exhibit the hierogly-
 “ phical solecism of a wild beast continuing to
 “ live, though in a headless state; a thing im-
 “ possible in nature, and therefore equally
 “ impossible in a symbol, which is professedly
 “ constructed upon the œconomy of nature.”^a

What is implied in this statement, is roundly asserted by Mr. Gauntlett. “ NOT A DAY can
 “ be mentioned,” says that writer, “ for more
 “ than seven hundred and fifty-two years be-
 “ fore the birth of Christ, to the 18th June,
 “ 1815, on which a head of the Roman empire
 “ did not exist under one of the forms symbo-
 “ lized by the seven-headed apocalyptic beast,
 “ described in this chapter.”—(2d Ed. p. 306.)

Such an assertion would have amazed me, if it had been the first time that I had found the facts of history mistated, by writers on the 1260 years. As it is, however, I am used to it, and can take it coolly. I am quite sure that Mr. Gauntlett did not mean to say what was untrue; and that this is the case with too many writers on the subject, in the present day, who

^a Vol. III. p. 22. In this the reader will probably agree with Mr. Faber: but it seems to give a hard blow to his own system, which requires him to maintain that while the beast lay dead he put forth a new horn. See vol. I. 192. If such a thing be not “ impossible in nature,” it is at least something very much out of the common way.

still do, in fact, perpetuate error, and publish most glaring falsehood. I believe they are too apt to take things on trust from their predecessors, without examining for themselves; and thus, what was stated carefully, and, perhaps, with some latent exclusion, by the first writer, is copied by a second without observing some nicety of phraseology; or, perhaps, with some alteration of his own *to make it clearer*—a third takes it as he finds it, but, perhaps, abridges or compresses it into a more dogmatic form—it gathers strength in progress, and soon passes from hand to hand as current truth.

It is my duty, however, to state, that not only “a day,” but a period of *several consecutive years*, may be mentioned, in which there was not in the Roman Empire either King, Consul, Dictator, Decemvir, Military Tribune, Emperor, Pope, Interrex, Prodictator, or Triumvirate, or any living creature, that either Mr. Gauntlett or any one else, as far as I know, has ever suspected of being a head of the beast. Now, if during this “*solitudo magistratum*,” as Livy calls it,^e which lasted *four or five years*,

^e Livy says, “*per quinquennium urbem tenuit.*” Lib. vi. 35. Eutropius says, “*quadrennium ita fluxit ut potestates ibi majores non essent.*” Lib. II. iii. “An anarchy,” says Ferguson, “of five years (from U. C. 377 to U. C. 382) ensued, during which time the republic, *bereft of all its officers*, had no magistracy besides the Tribunes of the

and in which there was *no* head in existence, the beast did not die, what could kill it? and may I not ask, in Mede's words, "how shall we ever know when it is dead for adoe?" To be sure, if it got over this, it might well survive lesser periods of suspended animation; such as, when "after the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days without a master."^f It is not needful, therefore, to refer to such cases; but I would seriously ask the reader, whether it is not high time to examine a system of interpretation which requires such an arbitrary selection of facts, and such an inconsistent application of principles.

Surely, we cannot fairly make out the fallen forms of Roman government to have been five, if we count by *official titles*; let us consider what would be the effect of counting by *substantial changes* of constitution.

As far as I can understand the History of the Roman Empire up to the time of St. John, it was simply this—a *Monarchy* existed until the people rose and destroyed it—a *Republic* was then formed, which existed, under various modifications, for several centuries; during which it tended generally, and gradually (if I mistake not, I might say, naturally) to a Democracy in

"people, who were not legally vested with *any degree of executive power*."

^f Gibbon, II. 483.

theory, and an Aristocracy in practice, until at length Monarchy was restored. How to make more changes, without descending to such minor variations of constitution as would make too many, I know not; and I believe the thing is impossible.

I am at a loss to conceive how the *Monarchy* of the *Emperors* can be said to differ essentially from that of the *Kings*. In fact, mere historians, who have no system to support, see no substantial difference between a King, a Dictator, and an Emperor. Thus, the author of the *Universal History* says, “In short, the *Dictatorship* was a kind of *absolute monarchy*, though “not durable;”^s and again, “as the *regal power* “was revived in the *Dictator*, he was allowed to “create a chief officer in the army, under the “name of *Magister Equitum*, that is, Master or “General of the Horse, which answered to the “office of the *Tribunus Celerum* in the time of “the *Kings*.” Vol. XI. p. 385. Hooke says of the Dictatorship, “This new kind of government erected at Rome might be called an *ab-*

^s Should this want of durability appear to create a difference the reader will remember that the Emperor (or, more properly speaking, PRINCEPS—only then we should get another head where we have too many already) was originally but a temporary office. Were it otherwise, the *Perpetual Dictator* would remove all difficulty with regard to Emperors, as he now does with respect to Kings.

“*solute monarchy* in a republic, though not “durable.” (Vol. I. 163.) And, in fact, whatever change there might be in official title, what *real* difference was there? Niebuhr says, “The “most important record of this period is the “introduction of the Dictatorship, of which “Rome derived both the name and office from “the Latins. Monarchy was necessarily and “universally the first form of government. The “Latin cities appear to have merely modified “it to an elective power, and the Roman Dictatorship also *was the undiminished regal authority.*” Vol. I. p. 376.

If the Dictator was so much like a *King*, how is he to be distinguished from an *Emperor*? the resemblance, or rather identity, was obvious enough to a mere historian; “*Neque quidquid,*” says Eutropius to the Emperor, “*similius potest dici quam dictatura antiqua, huic imperii potestati quam nunc tranquillitas vestra habet.*” I. xii.

Thus far I had written before I was aware that Mr. Faber had published any work, on the prophecies supposed to relate to a period of 1260 years, since that one which I have hitherto quoted. I have now seen his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, and as he expresses a wish that it should supersede his former publication, it would be unfair to represent him as holding any opinion which this work disavows, or im-

pliedly retracts. I am not aware, however, that I have done so ; and, in fact, my references to his work, in this Enquiry, have been by no means with a view to produce any peculiarities, by which his system is distinguished from those of other writers, who hold the same fundamental doctrine of the existence of a period of 1260 years. I have been accused of putting forth Mr. Faber as the “ single representative” of prophetical commentators: it certainly was not my intention, and I should have thought that any person who had read my former Enquiry, could not suspect me of thinking that any one writer on the 1260 years could be taken as a representative of the rest. If I have referred to Mr. Faber more frequently than to other writers in this Enquiry, it is for this simple reason—that a great part of it was written in a country where English books are extremely scarce, and where, though I was able to borrow the work of Mr. Faber in the capital, I could get no other English writer on prophecy, and I believe the whole kingdom could not have furnished one.

On the point now in question, however, Mr. Faber has changed his opinion, and proposes a plan, by which (if we can persuade ourselves to adopt it) we may certainly get over some great difficulties.

He says—“ The apostle teaches us, by the

“ declaration of the interpreting angel, that, in
“ his time, one of these heads was in actual
“ existence, that five had antecedently fallen,
“ and that another was yet future.

“ Now, in the time of the apostle the Roman
“ Emperorship was the polity in actual exist-
“ ence. Hence we may be certain that the
“ Roman Emperorship is the head which the
“ apostle characterises by the words *one is*, and
“ which history teaches us to have been then
“ the supreme form of Roman government.

“ But the apostle further declares, that five
“ other heads had antecedently fallen.

“ Here, in comparing his declaration with
“ the testimony of history, we are encountered
“ by an apparent difficulty: for St. John states
“ that only *five* heads had fallen; but history,
“ upon the first inspection of it, seems to inti-
“ mate that *six* supreme forms of Roman go-
“ vernment had become extinct. These six
“ are enumerated by Tacitus as the Kingship,
“ the Consulate, the Dictatorship, the Decem-
“ virate, the Military Tribunate, and the Tri-
“ umvirate:” and, after he has enumerated
them, he remarks, that “ the second Triumvi-
“ rate terminated in the sole rule of Augustus,
“ who, with the title of *Prince*, reduced all
“ things under the Emperorship. Thus it
“ might seem that, according to St. John’s
“ statement, *five* heads only had fallen when

“ the Emperorship was established : while, according both to the accurate specification of Tacitus, and to absolute matter of fact, *six* forms of supreme government had already at that period become extinct.”^h

Mr. Faber then goes on to establish the claim of at least the second Triumvirate to be considered as a head of the beast, and adds—

“ How, then, it will be asked, are we to reconcile the statement in the Apocalypse with the voice of history ?

“ To this question I reply, that the difference is apparent, not real. Mr. Mede, and those who have followed him, omitting the Triumvirate, make the Kingship one of those five heads, which in the time of the apostle had *fallen*, or had *become extinct*. But, in truth, the Kingly head, so far from having *fallen*, had then, after a sleep or quiescence of several centuries, recently *awaked* in the full vigour of renewed action.”

I apprehend that this solution of the difficulty will astonish most readers ; and until I find that it has been more generally adopted than I can suppose that it ever will be, I do not feel myself called upon to do more than merely to mention it. It certainly had not occurred to me, that the heads might have all the

^h Sac. Cal. III. 185.

convenience, without the prejudice, of extinction, by going to sleep.

Mr. Faber, however, adds, in confirmation of his opinion;—

“ It is not unworthy of note, that the singularly accurate language of the Apocalypse perfectly accords with the present arrangement.

“ *Five Kings have fallen, and ONE is.* The interpreting angel does not say; *five Kings have fallen, and THE SIXTH is*; for, had such been his phraseology, he would have required us to pronounce, in plain opposition to historical testimony, that the Roman Emperorship was the *sixth* head of the wild beast. But he says; *Five Kings have fallen, and ONE is*; a mode of expression, which precisely corresponds with literal matter of fact: for, though five had fallen, the then existing King was the *first*, not the *sixth*. As the angel speaks, *ONE is*; not *the SIXTH is*.”

To this it may be sufficient to oppose the plain language of the interpreting angel—
“ There are seven Kings: *five* are fallen, and *one* is; and *the other* is not yet come.” Rev. xvii. 10. If this does not imply that the *one* that *is*, is the *sixth*, I think we may give up attempting to understand what language does mean, and confess that there are no limits to what it may be made to mean.

I am glad, however, to find Mr. Faber contending for two points for which I have argued, but which have hitherto been very commonly denied by expositors. First, that the Kingship and Emperorship cannot fairly be considered as distinct heads; and, secondly, that the Triumvirate has as much claim to be reckoned a head of Roman government, as any other form which ever existed. Whoever doubts on these points may find much to satisfy him in the part of Mr. Faber's work to which I have referred.

For the reasons which I have assigned, it seems to me quite impossible that the common interpretation of the seven heads of the Beast, should be the true one. As I have already stated, I believe that it was merely devised to meet the exigency of the case, and to answer the question, "If the Beast is the Roman Empire, what *can* the seven heads be?"—If it be now retorted on me, "Well, and what *can* they be, if they are not these forms of government?" I must answer, "I do not know."

Quis pudor, illud

NESCIO honoratum constanti promere voce

Quom sit opus? Malo hoc, quam dici *nescit*;—

though certainly not for the reason assigned by the satyrst; for when I see what interpretations are received by the public, with decorous gravity, I should not fear "turpes audire ca-

“ chinnoſ,” however ingenious I might be. But, in fact, I am unable to offer any explanation of this myſterious paſſage. I incline to follow Langiusⁱ in the opinion that the angel did not refer to the time preſent, when he was ſpeaking to St. John; but to the future period, foreſhewn in the viſion. If, to explain my meaning, I may be allowed to paraphraſe the words of the angel, I would ſay, “ The Beaſt before you
 “ is characterized by having, or having had,
 “ ſeven heads—but at the period during which
 “ he is now ſhewn to you (that is, when the
 “ woman is drunk with the blood of the ſaints,
 “ ver. 6; and the time of her judgment draws
 “ on, ver. 1), five of thoſe heads are fallen.” This I am inclined to think, but this I pretend not to DEMONSTRATE. I am fully ſenſible, that he who merely oppoſes a ſystem, has a leſs pleaſing, and leſs dignified, taſk, than he who frames one; and whenever God ſhall enable me to explain any part of his word, I ſhall eſteem it a high honour, and a cauſe for deep gratitude. In the mean time, while I take not upon

ⁱ “ Quid autem ſibi velit *quinarius* illorum, qui ceciderunt, *numerus*, fateor, me nulla poſſe conjectura aſſequi, nec mihi placere ſententiam illorum qui, hæc ad quintuplicem regiminis Romani antiquiſſimi formam, diverſo etiam modo, referunt. Johannes quidem utitur præterito, “ *ceciderunt*, ſed ſenſu prophetico de futuro.” *Langii Gloria Chriſti*, p. 203.

me to be an architect, I am thankful to be employed as a surveyor; and to exercise the humble—but not useless—office of pointing out the unsoundness of buildings, which I might not have had the talent to conceive, or to erect.



